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JOURNAL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE:

CONTAINING THE

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION.

No. I.

JUNE, 1869.

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

IN presenting the first number of this Journal, the Committee of Publication will endeavor to explain its purpose, by explaining the work of the Association.

Social Science, or the Science of Society, treats of man as a social being. It fulfils its functions just as other sciences fulfil theirs, by collecting facts, applying principles, and reaching the general laws which govern the social relations. Its character as a Science needs not be questioned. The subjects it embraces, Education, Health, Economy and Jurisprudence, are confessedly susceptible of scientific treatment, and what is true of the parts, is equally true of the whole.

Its range is broad, too broad, we are sometimes told, to be thoroughly grasped. In minds accustomed to a specific pursuit, or fixed upon a definite object, it is apt to excite distrust. But its comprehensiveness is really an advantage. It is a safeguard against narrowness of opinion or exertion. It prevents the possibility of considering any single interest as exclusive; it discloses the connection of different lines of thought and action, and unites the branches of enquiry, instead of leaving them severed, each from the other, to the injury of all. Education, for instance, has a fairer opportunity of scientific growth, if it is studied in reference to Health; the mind and the body are both

better understood in their mutual relations. Education, Health and Economy are all surer of attaining practical results, if pursued with a regard to Jurisprudence, or the Amendment of the Laws, on which every investigation of social questions must depend, more or less, for their positive settlement. The real trouble seems to be, not that Social Science has proposed too much, but that it has accomplished too little, and the real remedy is not in narrowing, but in thoroughly cultivating the field.

At the same time the movement in this science is to be carefully distinguished from some other movements, with which it is apt to be confounded. Social Science is not Socialism. The latter deals with Society destructively, pulling down rather than building up, and reducing the higher grade to the lower, instead of raising the lower to the higher. The former, by a reverse process, seeks to uplift whatever is low, and indeed whatever is already high, by placing both on a firmer foundation, and rearing them in larger and loftier proportions. It is essentially constructive, and aims at strengthening, rather than undermining, the constitution of society. Again, Social Science is not Radicalism in the common sense. The latter goes to the root of things, with a determination to uproot them, while the former gives to the fibres beneath the soil, a firmer hold upon it, by freeing them from obstructions, and quickening their growth in breadth and depth. It is essentially conservative, not of the evil, but of the good which society contains, and which can be developed only by gentle and discriminating treatment. Social Science differs also from Philanthropy. This takes things as they appear, handles them as they seem to require at the moment, acts from impulse, that may or may not last, and seeks for the remedy, rather than the prevention, of ills which under this management often return in greater strength than before. But Social Science does not confine its observations to phenomena, or its efforts to the treatment of momentary symptoms.

It acts from convictions based upon careful enquiry, as well as enduring principle. It goes behind the effect to the cause, and tries to prevent, even more than to relieve, the errors existing among men.

The American Association is organized in four Departments. It thus covers the whole ground of Social Science, and yet breaks it up into divisions, which can be managed by themselves, as well as in relation to one another. Each Department is placed in charge of a Committee especially selected for the work, under whose supervision the various efforts of the Association, or its individual members, acquire consistency and effectiveness. Local Committees are established in different parts of the country, to serve as rallying points for the members in their neighborhoods. An Executive Committee has its headquarters at Boston, and there directs the general affairs of the Association. This plan of organization is designedly simple, for it is thought that anything like intricacy, or ostentation in the machinery, will impede its working.

The Association has two principal objects: first, to gather all the information within reach, both at home and abroad, with regard to Social Science in all its branches; and second, to diffuse this information throughout and beyond our country. Among the chief means to these ends, is the holding of public meetings, sometimes general, at which papers on various topics are presented, and sometimes special, at which a single subject, or class of subjects, is taken into consideration. During the past winter, meetings have been held in Boston and New York under our auspices, in order to further the Reform now proposed in the Civil Service. Private movements are set on foot in order to advance particular objects. At the present time, a Committee of the Association is preparing a pamphlet to contain a system of rules for the organization and administration of Public Libraries, together with a catalogue of books adapted to general use, in the hope that such a publication will tend to

promote the formation of libraries everywhere. Another plan, also entrusted to a Committee, embraces the selection of a limited number of casts from the antique to be placed in our Public Schools, and thus extend the knowledge and influence of Art. These projects are mentioned, not because they are the only ones in contemplation, for there are many others of a sanitary, economical and legal character, but because they sufficiently illustrate the practical designs of the Association.

In order to carry out the work thus sketched, it has been found desirable to issue a Journal from time to time, in which a selection from the papers and reports of the Association, together with information on appropriate topics, gathered from various sources, may be generally circulated. As the organ of a scientific body, it is committed to no theory, but opens its pages to different, and even conflicting views, in tolerance of all opinions thoughtfully formed and liberally expressed. It is intended to be suggestive, to stimulate observation, excite reflection, deepen sympathy, and thus contribute to the welfare of society.

The Journal is published under the general direction of the Executive Committee, who have appointed three of their number to superintend its publication.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF SOCIAL SCIENCE.

THE Science of Society is not of recent origin. It may be said to be as old as the various branches of human thought and research, the fruits of which it seeks to gather and apply for the common benefit of mankind. But although its elements have previously existed in the sciences of Jurisprudence, Education, Political Economy and Public Health, and have been cultivated in societies organized to carry out particular investigations and reforms, it has grown into a distinct division of knowledge only during the present generation. To our age, so remarkable for humane tendencies, and to men of the race, which has ever proved its preëminent fitness to lead in great practical reforms, it was reserved to raise Social Science to the dignity of a special scientific pursuit, the high aim of which is the discovery and application of the immutable laws governing man in his social relations.

In the autumn of 1856, the late Lord Brougham, who had special qualifications for the place as the tried head of the Society for the Amendment of the Law, was invited to take the lead in founding an association, intended to unite all those engaged in efforts for the moral and material improvement of the British people. He assented readily, but owing to various causes, the plan of the originators of the movement could not be matured until July, 1857. In the latter part of that month, a private meeting was held in London at the residence of Lord Brougham, to consider, according to the call, the best means of bringing about a union of those interested in social progress. Forty-three persons were present. The meeting resulted in the adoption of a resolution, affirming the necessity of a closer union among the supporters of the different efforts for social advancement, and pronouncing for the establishment of the *National Association for the Promotion of Social Science*. A committee was appointed to give effect to the resolution, and immediately commenced its labors under the chairmanship of Lord Brougham.

The founders of the Association were impressed with the idea that, in order to induce the widest possible interchange of opinion, experience and information, both *a priori* reasoners and practical reformers, should be included in its organization. It was their purpose to accept aid from all quarters, without reference to classes or opinions; to elicit truth without propounding dogmas, and to maintain the most absolute freedom of opinion. With this view, the work proposed for the Association was divided into five departments, viz: Law Amendment, Education, Prevention and Repression of Crime, Public Health and Social Economy, which division has been preserved to this day. Competent persons were invited to prepare papers and reports, expressing their opinions and embodying their experience upon subjects within the scope of the five departments, and to read them at public meetings of the Association. This plan of operation has been adhered to in the main ever since.

The invitations of the Organizing Committee to persons throughout Great Britain, to participate in the labors of the Association, met with such hearty responses, that a first general meeting could be convened in the fall of 1857. It was opened at Birmingham on October 12th, and continued for five days. The organization was perfected by the formal adoption of a constitution and the election of a permanent set of officers, of whom Lord Brougham was chosen chief by acclamation. The proceedings were of a very attractive character, and showed the deep interest already developed in the objects of the Association. They were opened with an address by Lord Brougham, in which he dwelled with great thoroughness and eloquence upon the task of the new Society, and upon the benefits he expected to result from its labors. Papers were read on the different days of the session upon topics relating to Education, Public Health, Social Economy and Law Reform, by Lord Stanley, Lord John Russell, Sir J. S. Pakington, Sir B. C. Brodie, Thomas Hare, G. W. Hastings, Miss Carpenter, and other high authorities. The meeting was a success in every respect, attracted general attention, and served to establish the Association on an enduring basis.

Since that time, the British Association has not only lived, but from year to year has gained numerical and intellectual

strength. True to its original purpose of promoting social reforms by scientific inquiry, it has pursued a career of unquestionable usefulness in spite of certain defects in its management, and of the doubts raised in many quarters as to its capacity for good. Its annual meetings, held successively in the leading cities of England, Ireland and Scotland, spread the principles of Social Science, and stimulated investigation of the facts, on which they are founded, among all classes. Branches of the Association were by degrees established in a number of the large towns of England, and more than eighty associations, following special objects, and scattered throughout the United Kingdom, became affiliated with it. That the Association has had a salutary influence upon government and society, is an admitted fact. Better municipal administration, especially in a sanitary respect, in many cities and towns; more intelligent dispensation of public and private charity; marked improvements in popular education; greater attention to economic sciences at the universities, and the inauguration of certain wholesome reforms by Parliament, may be mentioned among the results obtained. Nor has the influence of the Association been confined to Great Britain. It soon became a general centre of social information, commanded the sympathies and secured the coöperation of many leading minds on the continent. Its printed transactions, now grown into an imposing array of volumes, justly rank among the most valuable publications of our times, and have been so regarded by thinkers and reformers in all civilized countries. The contents of these volumes have had no little weight, indeed, in directing the process of social and political reorganization, progressing of late years in the principal States of Europe.

Not the least auspicious effect of the steady and extended pursuit of Social Science in Great Britain, was the incitement to similar efforts on the continent. Several distinguished economists of France and Belgium, among them, M. M. Michel Chevalier, Garnier Pages, Corr-Vander Maeren and Desmarest, attended the fifth annual meeting of the British Association at Dublin. They were so much struck with the proceedings, that they conceived the idea of starting an international organization, by which the truths of Social Science might be propagated

throughout the other countries of Europe. After due consultation, they agreed upon the proposition of M. Corr-Vander Maeren, that the capital of Belgium, as the freest and most accessible of continental States, should become the seat of the projected society. The task of initiating the new organization was entrusted to M. Corr-Vander Maeren, whose position as Judge of the Tribunal of Commerce at Bruxelles, and former experience as the founder of several economic associations, especially qualified him for the work. Immediately after his return to Bruxelles, he organized a local committee, consisting of the most eminent men of the kingdom. The Committee prepared a constitution and by-laws, similar to those of the British Association, and in May, 1862, issued a circular to persons throughout the continent, asking their coöperation, and inviting them to attend the first international congress for the promotion of Social Science, to be convened at Bruxelles in the month of September of the same year. In order to insure the success of the first meeting, three members of the Committee were chosen as delegates to attend the sixth annual meeting of the British Association, and familiarize themselves more thoroughly with the work of that body. A resolution was passed on the part of the latter, assuring the "*Association internationale pour le progrès des Sciences Sociales*," of its active sympathy.

The international congress met on September 22d, of the year named, and remained in session four days, under the presidency of the Mayor of Bruxelles. Representatives of Belgium, Holland, Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Russia, Switzerland, and the United States, were present. The division of labor agreed upon by the Committee of Organization, and adopted by the congress, differed from the British plan. The number of departments was the same, but they covered a somewhat different ground, viz: 1st, Comparative Legislation; 2d, Education; 3d, Art and Literature; 4th, Charities and Public Health; 5th, Political Economy, including taxation, finances, commerce, industry and agriculture. As in Great Britain, public meetings and the publication of the transactions were adopted as the practical means of pursuing the objects of the Association, and another added in the form of pecuniary prizes to be offered for essays on given subjects. The

proceedings also varied from the British model. Few papers were read, and most of the time was devoted to the discussion of a number of questions in each of the departments, proposed by the Organizing Committee. The discussions were of an elevated character, and conducted in a fair spirit; but nevertheless, the preponderance of this element in the proceedings made the session less fruitful of substantial results, than it would have been, had the example of the British Association been more closely followed.

The second congress of the International Association was held in September, 1863, at Ghent, under the presidency of M. Vervoort, presiding officer of the lower house of the Belgium legislative assembly. It was as numerously attended as the first by representatives of different nationalities. The proceedings extended over a whole week. The mode of proceeding was the same at Bruxelles. Certain questions were proposed in the several departments, and elaborately discussed in separate meetings. The danger of violent clashings of opinion, with which discussions of this kind are necessarily always attended, was not altogether avoided during the session, but fortunately no serious discords were developed. Other annual meetings have since taken place.

Considering the obstacles, presented by the differences of language and national condition, as well as the complexity of social interests in the continental States, it would have been too much to expect the organization in question to do for all the countries represented within it, what the British Association has done for Great Britain alone. The International Association was intended to be a channel of exchange of thought and experience, rather than an instrument of direct action, and this useful function it has fulfilled to a great extent.

It must not be supposed that the International Association represents the totality of the efforts made up to this time on the Continent in the field of Social Science. In France, In Germany and in other countries, societies have existed for years, and pursued the search for and application of social truths in special directions, with great assiduity. Of these, the most active are the French and German, and among them the *Société d'Economie Politique* of Paris, and the *Volkswirtschaftliche Verein*,

(*Economic Society*) are the most successful. True these bodies touch upon but parts of Social Science, but what with the growing solidarity of the material and moral interests of all civilized nations, and the natural tendency of inquirers into social questions, to extend the range of their investigations, their labors are continually widening. Efforts have been making in France for some time, to organize a Social Science Association according to the British prototype, and have failed so far, only in consequence of obstacles interposed by the Government.

The American Association was founded in the autumn of 1865. Three years having been spent in preliminary efforts, which met with all the encouragement that could have been expected, it was decided by the Executive Committee to perfect the organization and extend the work of the Association. This is now in course of execution.

HENRY VILLARD.

INSPECTION OF COUNTRY SCHOOLS.

*A PAPER READ AT THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATION, BOSTON,
OCTOBER 14TH, 1868.

THE American system of public or common schools is based on the broad principle, that every child has an inalienable right to a competent education, and that the State is bound to secure to every child such an education, by means derived from the taxation of every man in proportion to his property.

On this broad and solid foundation our popular education stands. The general recognition of this great principle may be said to constitute the distinctive feature of the American system of public instruction. In accordance with it, school laws have been framed, very large sums of money have been raised, and a net-work of schools has been spread over the land. And thus the State has taken the first and great step towards discharging its acknowledged obligations to provide for the education of all the children of the people.

But the work so well begun has not yet been consummated. The schools so universally established have not yet fulfilled their legitimate functions. Notwithstanding the great good they have spread through the community, they have as yet but partially accomplished the object of their establishment. This is true to a certain extent of all our schools of different grades, both in the cities and in the country; but it is especially true of the country schools. It is a fact, which probably will not be disputed, that the great mass of ungraded district schools, scattered through the rural districts, are in a far less satisfactory condition than the schools in the cities and larger towns. It would not be just to assert, without qualification, that these rural schools have failed. They have without doubt been the source of incalculable benefit to the community: they have done, and are now doing, a noble work in diffusing general intelligence among the people, and they have been worth all they have cost and far more. In this view they have been a

success. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that they are, as a whole, far inferior to what they ought to be, and to what they might be made. In this aspect they may be termed a failure.

Without specifying the deficiencies of these schools, it is sufficient for my present purpose to state in general wherein they fall short of fulfilling their design.

In the first place, there is, in the aggregate, a large number of children who are growing up in ignorance, without availing themselves of the advantages of the public schools or of any other means of instruction. Secondly, of the children who attend the public schools for a longer or shorter period, a large majority fail to obtain the education which the system is designed to furnish. Thirdly, the educational means provided are not economically employed. The time and money invested in these schools are not turned to the best account. For want of a proper adaptation of means to ends, the teaching power of the teachers, and the learning power of the learners, and, indeed, the educational forces of every description are to a very great extent wasted. Fourthly, the means provided for the maintenance and support of these schools, are not yet sufficient, even if wisely applied, to secure competent education to all who need it.

These statements, it is believed, will not be denied by any one who is well informed upon the present condition of the class of schools under consideration. Should they be questioned, abundant and painful confirmation of their substantial truth might be drawn from the statistics and opinions embodied in the State reports on education from every section of the country. The late Frederic H. Packard, Esq., of Philadelphia, published, in 1866, a book entitled the "Daily Public School in the United States," the leading object of which was to show the inadequate results of the American country schools. This author's judgment is too severe, without doubt, but we may derive profit from it. The facts, which he presents, are sufficient to warrant the conclusion that the education in our country, at the present time, is neither in character nor extent, what our political, social and industrial interests demand. This subject has also recently been discussed by the Rev. Dr. Ryerson, who has been for nearly a quarter of a century the Chief Superintendent of Education of the Province of Ontario, (Canada

West,) and who has no superior, probably, in knowledge of the systems of public instruction both in Europe and America. In a recent report to the Provincial Government on Popular Education in Europe and the United States, after speaking of the large sums of money raised and expended for schools in this country, he says :

“But here, in most of the States, the work has begun to halt, and the patriotic objects of its projectors have been disappointed. The State has acknowledged, and nobly endeavored to redeem, its obligation to provide an education for its every child ; but it has not provided that every child should qualify himself by such an education for citizenship. . . . It has made universal suffrage the lever to lift the masses to universal education and intelligence, in the absence of the requisite educational power to move the lever. Nor is there adequate provision to secure the operations of a school in a single neighborhood, much less to secure properly qualified teachers where schools are established. The result is, that when you leave the cities and large towns, and go into the rural parts of the State — the peculiar field of a national school law and system — you there find that our American neighbors are not so successful in their public school economy, and accomplish results very far below and short of the State appropriations they make, and the machinery they employ for the sound education of all the people.”

This is the opinion of an impartial and competent judge. And if there are to be found some highly favored localities, where the schools are all that an intelligent educator or an enlightened patriot could desire, such localities must be considered as exceptional.

Such being the case, let us inquire into the cause of this failure. We are now in possession of the materials, necessary for the proposed investigation, in the exhaustive reports of French and English Educational Commissioners to their respective Governments, on the school systems of different countries in Europe and America ; in the publications of Henry Barnard, Horace Mann, President Bache, and Prof. Stowe, on European education, in the report of Dr. Ryerson, already referred to, and in the reports of our State Superintendents of Public Instruction.

These official and authoritative documents establish the fact that there is an essential educational agency, without which a system of public instruction cannot completely accomplish its legitimate object. That agency is what in Europe is commonly called *inspection*, and in this country *supervision* or *superintendence*.

England does not undertake to provide schools for the people. The Government neither establishes schools, nor requires them to be established, but it offers, on certain conditions, to grant aid, as by building school-houses and increasing the salaries of the teachers. It leaves the initiative wholly to voluntary effort, but it takes care to provide a staff of inspectors to superintend the schools aided. The best authorities agree that the success of the English system is due to the excellence of this inspection. This is simply and solely an *examining* inspection; but within its sphere it is impartial, independent and efficient.

The growth of the common school system in Holland, is peculiarly worthy of attention from American educators. As to the excellence of the Dutch schools, there is undoubted evidence. When Holland was a republic, in 1806, the various edicts and regulations, relating to schools, were digested into a code, within five years after that the University of France deputed Baron Cuvier to visit Holland and to report on its public schools. The great naturalist expressed the warmest admiration of the system. He described the astonishment and delight, with which his first visit to a Dutch school impressed him. In 1836, Victor Cousin, in an excellent report to the French Government, expresses the strongest approbation of the Dutch system. President Bache in his Report on Education in Europe to the Trustees of Girard College, in 1839, says, "Among the primary schools of Holland, are some of the best which I visited, and the whole condition of popular instruction is worthy of a nation which has ever been distinguished for its virtue and intelligence." Matthew Arnold, the well-known author, in a report to the English Education Commission in 1860, says, "I have seen no primary schools worthy to be matched with those of Holland." The Rev. Dr. Ryerson, in the report above referred to, says, "I confess that no schools which I have visited in America, or in different countries of Europe, so

deeply and so favorably impressed me in regard to discipline, methods of teaching, order and neatness, as those which I have visited in the principal cities and towns of Holland." The range of study in these schools which are called primary, is about the same as that in our primary and grammar grades combined.

To what cause is this superiority to be attributed? On this point there seems to be no difference of opinion. The authorities already quoted, and all others I have been able to consult, agree in the opinion that it is due chiefly to a wise system of inspection. Mr. Arnold says, "The law of 1806 was very short and very simple, . . . but it did two things which no other school law had yet done, and which were the foundations of its eminent success; it established a thorough system of inspection for the schools, and a thorough system of examination for the teachers. To organize inspection, is, in fact, the grand object of the law of 1806; with this it begins, and with this it ends." To keep the system of inspection efficient was the central thought, the paramount aim of its author,* up to the very last days of his life. When a venerable old man, he received M. Cousin at Haarlem in 1836, and said to him, — "Take care how you choose your inspectors: they are men whom you ought to look for with a lantern in your hand." And, adds Mr. Arnold, "inspection in Holland was organized with a force and completeness which it has attained nowhere else." President Bache says in his report: "The most important provisions of the law are those for the inspection and management of the schools, and for the due qualification of schoolmasters. . . . The system of inspection is eminently adapted to a country where centralization has never existed, and has proved highly successful in its operation." Mr. E. Hickson, Principal of the Mechanics' Institute in Liverpool, in an official account of the Dutch and German schools, remarks, "The Dutch schoolmasters are decidedly superior to the Prussian, and the schools of primary instruction consequently in a more efficient state. This superiority we attribute entirely

*Van den Ende, 27 years at the head of the administration of the system.

to a better system of inspection. . . . In Holland, inspection is the basis upon which the whole fabric of popular instruction rests." We are warranted, then, in concluding that popular education in Holland, which, according to Mr. Arnold, for extent and solidity combined, has probably never been equalled, owes its distinction mainly to the completeness of its inspection. If we turn to France we shall not find there an equally effective system of elementary instruction. It was not until the passage of the school law of 1833, proposed by M. Guizot, then Minister of Public Instruction, that the maintenance of schools, previously optional with the *communes*, became obligatory. "This law," says Mr. Arnold, the best historian of public instruction in France, "had the great merit of being full of good sense, full of fruitful ideas, full of toleration, full of equity; but it had the still greater merit of attaining the object it had in view. It founded for the first time a national elementary education. But two defects in the system soon became visible, one was in the authorities charged to superintend, and the other was in the position of the teachers." We see here that the French system was weak precisely where the Dutch system was strong. The Minister, in his zeal for local action, had entrusted the charge of the schools to Communal or Parish Committees. But persons able and willing to perform this duty properly, were not found in the country districts of France. "But in 1835," says Mr. Arnold, "primary inspectors, those sinews of public instruction, were permanently established, one for each department, by royal ordinance." The subsequent modifications of the law of 1833, have been directed to the improvement of school inspection with gratifying results. "The primary inspectors," says Mr. Arnold, "are the very life of the (school) system; their inspection is a reality, (because made when not expected)." Thus the experience in France goes to confirm the principle, that good inspection is the condition of success in popular education.

The schools of the German States, and of Switzerland, afford further confirmatory proof of the vital importance of good school supervision. In Switzerland each canton has its own system of public instruction. Mr. Arnold visited five of the cantons and reported on their schools. In three he found

School Inspectors, and he remarks, "There are not two opinions as to the value of the services which may be rendered by these functionaries : and they will probably soon be employed by the two cantons which are now without them." In these he notices especially the inefficiency of the inspection of the schools, and the examination of teachers by the local Committees.

Although much attention is paid to the education of the people in all the German States, Prussia has long stood preëminent in this respect. "In no other country," says Dr. Ryerson, after his recent educational tour in Europe, "is there so thorough and universal Common School education." M. Baudouin, the French Government School Commissioner to Germany in 1865, says, "Nowhere, in fact, is instruction disseminated with so much liberality, given with so much disinterestedness, and directed with so much care." There is a regular gradation of authorities, from schoolmaster up to the Minister of Education. "All persons and classes," says Mr. Cousin, "who have an interest in the subject, find their appropriate place in this organization, and concur, each in his own manner and degree, to the common end."

Mr. Mann mainly devoted his report on the Prussian system of Schools in 1844, to the subjects and methods of instruction and to school discipline, but he did not fail to notice the system of inspection, "whose eye and hand watches and animates the whole."

Unquestionably the Common Schools of Massachusetts were at their lowest point of inefficiency while left almost exclusively to the control of their respective districts. At this crisis the State Board of Education was established. Horace Mann was chosen its Secretary, and charged with the duties of a State Superintendent. What followed ? Normal Schools were opened, Teachers Institutes held, school-houses improved, appropriations increased, Committees invested with larger power, and placed under stricter responsibility. It is scarcely too much to say, that all the improvements of the last thirty years result from an improved supervision.

The experience of Massachusetts in this respect is substantially the experience of every State in the Union. Almost everywhere, the first important step was the appointment of a

State Superintendent of Education, and the results were similar to those in Massachusetts.

It was not until several years after the necessity of such an officer as a State Superintendent of Schools was generally admitted, that the necessity of the services of City Superintendents of Schools came to be acknowledged. Twenty-five years ago there was scarcely one City Superintendent in the United States, and the schools of the cities were, on the whole, no better than those of the country. Now, almost every important town, especially outside of New England, has at least one professional educator devoted to the supervision and inspection of the schools. Besides, important measures have been adopted with a view to secure the services of competent men as members of the City Boards of Education. These changes for the better have wrought a great improvement in city schools. I will here cite again the Rev. Dr. Ryerson. "Taken as a whole," he says, "I do not think, from my best observation and inquiries, that there is any country in the world in whose cities and towns (except Leipsic, in Saxony,) the systems of education are so complete and efficient as in the neighboring States."

It is an indisputable fact that the schools in the cities have quite outstripped the schools in the country, and it is also an indisputable fact that the schools in the cities have advanced in proportion to the improvements in their inspection. The history of education in New York and Philadelphia strikingly illustrates the effect of good supervision. Although the population of Philadelphia has been in its favor, the system of schools in New York has far surpassed that of the former city. It is quite impossible to account for the marked difference in the results, which have been produced in these two great cities, except by the difference of their supervision.

The Hon. E. E. White, late State Commissioner of Schools in Ohio, said in 1865, "We speak freely respecting the condition of the lower schools of Philadelphia, because we were not prepared to find such old-fogyism. A jury of intelligent educators would, in our opinion, pronounce them twenty-five years behind the district schools of Cincinnati, and we think the explanation of this result is found largely in the fact that the schools of Philadelphia are practically without supervision."

The Rev. James Fraser, a high authority, in his recent able report on the Common Schools of the United States and Canada, to the School Inquiry Commission of Great Britain, expresses his astonishment at finding the great City of Philadelphia without a Superintendent. In New York, on the contrary, we find the greatest attention paid to inspection, not only by professional Superintendents, of whom there are five, but by the various Boards of School Officers.

Thus it appears that, as in Europe, whatever degree of excellence has been attained in our schools is due mainly to efficient supervision, and that the unsatisfactory state of our country schools must be attributed to the absence of this wholesome influence.

Mr. Fraser, in the report already quoted from, says, "The great desideratum of the Common School system, both in Massachusetts and generally in the States, is adequate, thorough, impartial, independent inspection." . . . And again, "The idea upon which the American Common School system is based is the absolute competency of the township or local organization, by whatever name known, to determine for itself what is best to be done in relation to any of those interests in which it is supposed to be immediately and principally concerned." . . . "A properly authenticated and *independent* officer like Her Majesty's Inspector of Schools among ourselves, armed with visitatorial powers, and with means provided for giving effect to his recommendations, appears to be the element wanting in the machinery of the system to give it that balance which the complication of its parts requires." With this judgment of the English Commissioner, the opinion of Dr. Ryerson is in perfect harmony. "The fruitful cause," he remarks, "of inefficiency in the American system of popular instruction, appears to me to be the mode of appointing the administrators of their school systems, and their tenure of office."

Finally, we have the testimony of most of the State Superintendents that the defects of the country schools are chiefly due to the want of a good system of supervision.

It only remains to glance at what is doing and what ought to be done for the improvement of School Inspection. The leaders in the educational revival which began among us fifty years

ago—Olmstead, Gallaudet, Russell, Carter, Woodbridge, Brooks, Emerson, and others—concentrated their efforts on the institution of Seminaries for Teachers. Their chief aim was to indoctrinate the public mind with the great principle embodied in Cousin's famous maxim, "*As is the TEACHER so will be the SCHOOL,*" and thus prepare the way for normal training.

But the first result of the new movement was different from the specific object sought. It was the establishment of State Supervision, and through this instrumentality Normal Schools were instituted, and the professional training of teachers was introduced as an element of public instruction. Massachusetts took the lead in providing for State Supervision. An Act of the Legislature, passed April 19th, 1837, created a Board of Education, with authority to appoint a Secretary with the functions of a State Superintendent of Schools. The other New England States and New York, in the course of a few years, took measures to provide for State Supervision; and at length this educational agency came to be universally recognized as indispensable. Thus the first step in the right direction was taken, and the way opened for every desirable improvement. The history of the official labors of the State Superintendents of Education, during the last thirty years, is substantially the history of the progress of public instruction in every State in the Union.

The first topic discussed by Mr. Mann, in his first report on the School system of Massachusetts, was that of the qualifications and duties of School Committeemen. At the close of his service, in referring to this matter, he says, "Public opinion has now for twelve years been brought to bear upon this subject." In fact, the one subject which occupied his attention more than any other was that of perfecting the local supervision of schools by the town Committees. And here was, perhaps, his greatest success. On entering upon his duties he found that in two-thirds of the towns the examination of teachers was neglected; that in five-sixths of the towns there was no pretence of a compliance with the law in respect to the visitation of schools. On retiring, he could say, with truth, that the requirements of the law in these important particulars were "professedly complied with in almost every town, and in the great majority of them, substantially so."

The second result in educational reform, implied in what has been already stated, was the establishment, more or less complete, of District Supervision. This was very soon improved by the institution of County Inspection. The State of New York took the lead in this third great movement, by providing for the appointment of a Deputy Superintendent of Schools for each County. The success of this experiment induced other States to follow the example; and so rapid has been the progress in adopting this new supervising agency, that at the present time, there is scarcely a single educating State outside of New England, where the office of County Superintendent of Schools is not established.

In the meantime City Supervision of Schools has been rapidly developed. Our supervising and inspecting agencies, therefore, are of four grades, each having a distinct sphere. If the doctrine presented in this paper is sound, the future success of our popular education will be determined very largely by the character of these four agencies, and the special problem of educational legislation is to perfect them. To the State Supervisory Officers, in addition to the general administration of the system, appropriately belongs the function of recommending the legislation requisite for its improvement. The County Superintendents ought to be the principal working agents. It belongs to them to examine and license teachers, and to annul certificates for cause; to visit and examine all the schools and school districts, within their jurisdiction, as often in each year as shall be practicable; to inquire into all matters relating to the management, the classification, the course of study and mode of instruction, the text-books and discipline, the condition of the school-houses and appendages; to advise with and counsel the local Committees, particularly in relation to the construction, warming and ventilation of school-houses, and the adornment of school-grounds; to recommend to school-officers and teachers the proper management; to examine any charge affecting the moral and intellectual character of any teacher within their counties; to organize and conduct 'Teachers' Institutes: to advise in all questions arising under the operations of the school laws; to appoint meetings of the people for the purpose of addressing them on topics relating to the interests of their

Schools; and to report in all cases to the State Superintendent. To the town and district Supervisors belong all the duties not included in those of the State and County Superintendents. In the large cities, the functions of the Superintendents nearly resemble those of the County officers. But with this inspection, viz., of city schools, the subject before us is disconnected.

In many States, the choice of the Chief Superintendent is made by popular suffrage, a very objectional mode, as experience has shown. The term of service moreover is generally too short. The compensation is, in almost all cases, quite inadequate. There is, probably, not a single State where the salary of the Chief Superintendent is equal to that of the higher grades of teachers in the public schools. But it is encouraging to observe, that improvements in State supervision are in progress. From a survey of the whole field, it is quite evident that State supervision is most successful where there is a properly constituted Educational Council or Board of Education, with power to elect the Superintendent, and to make all rules and regulations, not conflicting with the General Statutes. This plan has been adopted in New Jersey and Maryland. In some States, by recent legislation, the term of the Superintendent's office has been extended to four years, and in others, the election is placed in the hands of the Legislature. But the County Superintendency, under State Supervision, and supplemented by Municipal Inspection, is the principal agency on which the success of country schools must depend. In all the States where it has been introduced, it has brought about highly beneficial results; but in those States, where its capabilities have been fully developed, its effects have been such as to warrant the conclusion that, with proper modifications, it is destined to work a radical reform. The following extracts from State Reports serve as an indication of the progress that has already been made in this direction.

The Superintendent of Public Instruction of Iowa says, "It is now nearly ten years since the first enactment of a law in our State creating the office of County Superintendent of Schools; and to the intelligent observer, there can be little doubt, that the rapid advancement which the schools have made within that time has been largely owing to efficient County super-

vision." From Wisconsin we have similar evidence. The State Superintendent says, "Our experience has not been unlike that of other States, where the testimony is strong, if not unanimous, that this educational agency is a necessary part of a good school system." The State Superintendent of Illinois is still more emphatic. He says, "County Supervision of Schools is the right arm of power in our system. It cannot be dispensed with. It has done more than any other agency to make our schools what they are." In Pennsylvania, the office of County Superintendent was perhaps at the outset more wisely constituted than elsewhere, the choice being made by the School Inspectors of the towns, in convention. Here we find its ripest and best fruits. The State Superintendent says, "The law (establishing the County Superintendency) has now been tried nine years, and these officers have performed a work that no other agency could have performed. Influences favorable to the course of Common Schools have been brought to bear upon the community, through the labors of the Superintendents, that could have been exerted in no other way."

Such are the results of this agency. Yet it is almost everywhere poorly paid. What has been said of the necessary modifications in the election and tenure of State Superintendents applies still more forcibly to County Superintendents. There is yet more need of increased compensation. Illinois has made the most liberal provision, by allowing five dollars a day for actual service. Wisconsin and New York have wisely disregarded County lines, and given each officer a nearly equal School population. A recent law in New Jersey gives the choice of Superintendent to the Board of Education, the people of the Counties having a veto. Could all these improvements be united, with the extension of the term of service, we might expect to see, in a reasonable period of time, the complete success of our country schools.

JOHN D. PHILBRICK.

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION.

A PAPER READ AT THE GENERAL MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATION
AT ALBANY, NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 17TH, 1869.

I fear the subject, which I have chosen, is rather too scholastic for most of my audience. When I first received the honor of an invitation to take part in this meeting, I chose a subject of more practical interest. But I gave it up, because, though strictly pertaining to economical Science, it had become, as I perceived, a party question in this country ; and of course as a stranger and a guest, dependent on the kindness of Americans of all parties, not only for my social enjoyment, but for the fulfilment of the literary objects of my visit, I wish to keep scrupulously clear of party politics. Some years ago this country was the scene of events of universal import to humanity, and which, like the great European struggle of the Reformation, bound together for the time, men of the same principles in different nations. Now, these events have run their course, and the laws of international etiquette resume their sway. No disregard of those laws has been, or will be shown upon my part. The only connection which I have in this country, is with an institution remote from all party feelings and interests, in endeavoring to serve which, I endeavor to serve all parties alike. In politics I am, happily for myself, merely a spectator ; I wish to be an unbiased one.

All questions, however, relating to education, from the highest to the lowest, have, at this moment, a peculiar interest. In Europe, men are saying that nothing but a system of public education, well organized in all its grades, can create, in place of the mouldering traditions of the past, a rational allegiance to institutions capable of preserving modern society from anarchy and confusion. In this country, it seems to me that the work of the pioneer, in the East and West, having been done, wealth having accumulated, the national mind having moreover been

stirred by a struggle similar in its intensity to those which preceded the Periclean era at Athens, and the Elizabethan era in England, the age of intellectual development is fully come, and that the intellectual institutions of the nation will now probably be cast in their destined mould.

In my own country it is primary education that is defective in system and extent; here it appears to be felt that the higher education stands specially in need of organization; with us it is the case of the poor that demands consideration; with you it is the case of the rich.

Fundamental questions touching the higher education have, however, arisen simultaneously in both countries. I left University affairs in a state of crisis and transition in England, and I find them in a state of crisis and transition here. In dealing with the subject, I will take as my standing point the University institutions of my own country, not only because I am familiar with them, while I cannot pretend to be familiar with the University institutions of America, but because the historical relations between the English Universities and those of America are such that some light may possibly be thrown by the history of the Universities and of University Reform in England, upon the nature of the crisis with which the founders and administrators of Universities are dealing in this country.

Not that I wish that those who have in their hands the destinies of University Education here, should be swayed by anything that is said or done on the other side of the water. On the contrary, the impression which I formed after such inquiry as I was able to make into the system of American Universities, in the course of a former visit to this country, was that the system here was too much a reproduction of that of the Old World, and that a system of high education, thoroughly adapted to the needs of the American people, and capable of taking a practical hold on their minds, yet remained to be created; that the problem in short was, as far as any such problem can be, an open one, demanding for its solution, original thought, though not inviting untrained and ignorant experimentation. And on the other hand, much of the language held in England against classical education, is really directed in the main, not against the use of the classics, but against

certain features of the classical system prevailing in that particular country, against the inordinate length of the course, which occupies, at School and College, about fifteen years, and against the excessive practice of Greek and Latin composition. Often, too, foreign writers and speakers may mislead those who do not know the persons, or the circumstances and influences under which they speak and write. I was sorry, though not surprised, to see stress laid by the organs of American opinion on the educational or rather anti-educational speeches of Mr. Robert Lowe. Mr. Lowe has been holding language adverse, not only to any existing course of Academical education, but to high culture generally. If he was correctly reported, he went the length of saying that he was ashamed to look a common mechanic in the face, because the mechanic had been taught things so much more useful than those which he had been taught himself. It was natural to ask why, if that was the case, he had so strenuously opposed the admission of the mechanic to political rights. Mr. Lowe is a man of great oratorical ability, with the development of which it is reasonable to suppose that his high classical education at Winchester and Oxford has had something to do, since he seldom makes a speech without going to the verge of pedantry in the use of classical allusion and quotation. But he is before all things a politician. At the time when he made these ultra-utilitarian speeches on Education, he had lost credit with his party, and placed his political fortunes in extreme jeopardy by his opposition to the Reform Bill; and he might naturally be tempted to set off against his backslidings on the question of the suffrage expressions of very advanced liberalism on other subjects. He was moreover courting the suffrages of the utilitarian University of London, of which he is now the eminent representative in Parliament; and this feature of his position also might, without his being conscious of it, in some degree influence his mind. Caution therefore should be exercised in welcoming him as a Daniel come to judgment against high education. So with regard to anything that may be said in controversies respecting the English University system by Mr. Matthew Arnold. Mr. Arnold is a writer in whom I think the literary object predominates over the practical, and with whom, therefore, it

would not be wise to take counsel, though it is most agreeable to take tea. He is a professed satirist of English character and institutions; his satire is perhaps salutary to his countrymen, and certainly amusing to every one, but it is satire, and the habit gives a bias, as it seems to me, even to those among his dissertations which appear most matter-of-fact. So far as he has a practical object, it is to induce his countrymen to give up their self-government and free development for the French and Prussian system of centralized administration, educational as well as political, an object quite unattainable in the United States, the people of which have entered decisively on a different path. I should therefore as little allow myself to be swayed by the utterances of Mr. Lowe or Mr. Arnold in one direction, as I should allow myself to be swayed in the other direction by the utterances of an English Conservative defending the old classical course of the English Universities, or the existing organization of upper education in England, because he thinks it congenial to the political institutions which he wishes to uphold.

The statutes of our Colleges, which were mostly mediæval, had become obsolete, and called for complete revision; the clergy had, through a series of historical accidents, acquired a complete monopoly of power and emolument in the Universities, one consequence of which was the almost total exclusion of Science; the doors of the national places of learning were closed against all denominations but the members of the State Church. The dissatisfaction caused by these evils, naturally spreads to our whole University system, and finds vent in expressions of general discontent; but they are evils to which you have no counterparts here.

The facts connected with the English University system and its history may be instructive to American inquirers, and the facts alone.

Let me explain what Oxford and Cambridge are. They are very peculiar in their organization, having, so far as I am aware, nothing analagous to them, unless it be the University of Salamanca, which has fallen into decay. Each of them is a federation of Colleges, of which there are at Cambridge seventeen, and at Oxford nineteen, besides five minor institutions for

the reception of students called Halls. The University is the Federal Government, legislates on subjects both of education and discipline affecting all the Colleges, holds the public examinations, confers all the degrees, and administers through its executive officers the general government and discipline of the place. It has also a staff of superior teachers, about thirty in number, whose lectures are attended by the students of all the Colleges, and to whom, with us, the title of Professor is confined. But each College is a separate and independent corporation, having its own estates, governed by its own Head and Fellows, in whom its property is vested, and exercising supreme authority over its students within its gates. Each has also its own staff of instructors, called Tutors, generally selected from among its Fellows, whose mode of teaching is usually by recitations, while that of the University Professors is by lectures. In the case of Physical Science, newly introduced among the subjects of our course, the method of teaching by recitation is less applicable, and the Colleges generally have not yet furnished themselves with scientific apparatus. The instruction, therefore, in this department, is at present given almost entirely in the lecture rooms of the University Professors.* The revenues of each College maintain the Head, a number of Fellows ranging from ten to forty, who are graduates, and with the Head form the governing body of the College, and a number of Scholars bearing a proportion to, but usually larger than that of the Fellows. The Scholars are undergraduates, receiving stipends as junior members of the foundation, but having no share in the government of the College. The incomes of the Heads range from five thousand to fifteen thousand dollars, those of the Fellows from five hundred to fifteen hundred dollars, the stipends of the Scholars, from three hundred to five hundred dollars, according to the wealth of the particular foundation. The Fellows and Scholars have also rooms provided for them. There are besides many Exhibition-

*I speak of the public instruction. In preparing for the examinations, private tutors commonly called "coaches," are a good deal employed, especially in the vacations, which are very long, but during which the more industrious students do not remit their work.

ers receiving stipends from estates of which the College is trustee, or from the Schools at which they have been educated, but not on the foundation of the College. The rooms in each College not occupied by members of the foundation, are filled with boarders, called Commoners at Oxford and Pensioners at Cambridge, who form the bulk of the undergraduate members of the University. Both Tutors and Scholars are now elected strictly by examination, the Fellowships of each College being open to all the members of the University; and probably the competitive examination for the Fellowships is as high and severe as any in the world. No duties are by statute attached to the Fellowships. Those which are held by Tutors may be regarded as part of the Tutor's stipend, which, from the smallness of the tuition fees, would otherwise be inadequate. The holders of the rest are supposed to be pursuing, and since the recent reforms securing election by literary merit, most of them are in fact pursuing their more advanced studies, general or professional, at the University or elsewhere; and it may be presumed, in a more liberal spirit and with more advantage to the study on which they are engaged as well as to themselves as students, than if they were in need of bread. But there is no positive security that the Fellowship shall serve any other public purpose than that of a splendid prize for academical industry; and the question is being discussed whether this is a provident use of public funds.

Till recently, every student was required to belong to one of the Colleges, which thus collectively were the University. The rule has now been relaxed at Oxford, where independent students are admitted, subject only to the regulations of a University Board appointed for the purpose. This is hailed as a return to the free system of primitive Oxford, when the students entered not through the gate of a College but through the broad portals of the University, and lived where they pleased, as they do now at a German or French University, the Colleges being in those days merely private foundations, few comparatively in number, and without any special privileges or power; a state of academical liberty for which the strict collegiate system was finally substituted under the formal rule of Laud. The non-collegiate students will be admitted

to the lectures of the University Professors, and be eligible to all University honors on the same footing as the Collegiate: but as they will be debarred from the recitations of the College Tutors, and from the social advantages of a College, it is not probable that they will be proportionally numerous, or that Oxford will cease to be practically what I have described her as being, a federation of Colleges.

In early times, the system of University studies was based on, and technically said to be "founded in" a course of Arts, or general culture, embracing all the subjects of instruction, scientific as well as literary, known to the Middle Ages, and which were so limited in their extent as to be without difficulty embraced by the student. After the completion of his preliminary course in Arts, the student passed to one of the three professional Faculties, Theology, Law and Medicine. A fourth Faculty, that of Music, was afterwards added, the representative, we may say, of the æsthetic portion of intellectual pursuits. In the Middle Ages, the central, and so to speak, solar study of the course of Arts, was the School Philosophy, a product of the human mind, associated in fact as well as in common opinion with much that was chimerical and grotesque, but never to be mentioned without doing homage to the power of sustained thought displayed in it, and to the great part which it played as a training of the reasoning powers in the mental development of man. On the revival of the classical learning, which carried everything by storm, the scholastic philosophy was supplanted by the classics, which thenceforth became the dominant study in the course of Arts at Oxford. At Cambridge, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, the influence of Newton gave the ascendency to the studies illustrated by his name, and thus Cambridge became distinctively a mathematical as Oxford was a classical University. Meantime the three Professional Faculties, to which the course of Arts had been preliminary, migrated or fell into decay. The Faculty of Theology, its subject ceasing to be treated scientifically or pseudo-scientifically as it had been in the Middle Ages, fell into decay, though the studies of the clerical profession of course continued to be pursued in the Universities, which, from the obligation imposed by College statutes on Fellows of taking Holy Orders, were, as regarded the

graduate portion of them, almost entirely clerical. Canon Law in like manner fell into decay. Its co-partner in the Faculty, Civil Law, migrated to the seat of the Judiciary in London. Medicine also, migrated to the great hospitals of the Metropolis. Oxford, when she awoke from the torpor into which, like the State Church, with which she had become so fatally bound up, she fell in the latter half of the last century, and revived her examination system, placed mathematics in a position of legal equality with classics, though in fact mathematics remained in a state of depression. At Cambridge, classics gradually asserted a more practical equality with mathematics, though mathematics are still the principal study, and the Senior Wranglership, which is the first place among the mathematicians of the year, the highest honor. Of late, under the pressure of a general demand for a more comprehensive system, both Universities have admitted Natural Science and Political Philosophy, including the principles of Jurisprudence, History and Political Economy, as optional studies into their general course. At Oxford these studies have been placed on a footing of perfect legal equality with the older studies, and made passports to the same honors. I have not the latest Cambridge regulations before me, but I believe that University has not gone quite so far. The old studies, however, yield the ground slowly, and retain a firm hold on those examinations which most determine the aim of the student, the competitive examinations for the Fellowships.

The general course, or course in Arts at Oxford, which extends over about four years, is now divided into two periods, of, roughly speaking, two years each. The first period is occupied by a course of classics and mathematics, obligatory up to a certain point on all, but with liberty of option between classics and mathematics beyond that point in the case of candidates for honors. In the second period, candidates have their option between four schools, that of Literæ Humaniores, or Classics with Ancient Moral Philosophy, Ancient Political Philosophy, and Ancient History; that of Mathematics, which in the case of candidates for honors, are carried very high; that of Modern History, Jurisprudence and Political Economy; that of Natural Science. It will strike you that the two last mentioned schools, that of Modern History with Jurisprudence,

and that of Natural Science are, unlike the schools of Classics and Mathematics, partly professional in their character — that they are preliminary at least to the special professions of Law and Medicine, rudimentary revivals, in fact, of the old Legal and Medical Faculties. They are, however, intended to be schools, not of professional knowledge, but of general culture, though of a culture embracing, optionally at least, all that is most important and interesting to man.

In the Middle Ages, the course of Arts occupied seven years, and each Faculty as many; so that the time expended by each student in passing through the successive degrees of Bachelor and Master in Arts and Bachelor and Master in his professional Faculty was fourteen years. But the real course in Arts now terminates with the Bachelors degree at the end of the third or fourth year. After that, the Masters degree is obtained by mere standing.

A great desire prevails among us to revive the Professional Faculties, our most eminent men in Law and Medicine being strongly of opinion that the character of the Professions has been lowered by their divorce from the Universities, and would be raised again by a renewal of the connection. Law it seems to be thought would especially be improved and elevated by scientific study under Academical auspices. It would of course be only in the strictly scientific parts of either Law or Medicine, that instruction could be given within the precincts of the University; for the rest the Universities would have to enter into a concordat with the Inns of Court and the Hospitals. Some progress, but not much, has been made towards the fulfilment of this desire; there is an examination for the degree in Civil Law, and I believe a thoroughly effective one for the degree in Medicine; but few students of either Faculty reside in the University. To render the Faculty of Theology effective in an age so full of religious division and perplexity, would probably be a very difficult task.

Here, however, we see the lineaments complete, though dim and belonging it may be to an irrevocable past, of that great mediæval idea of a University, which is the one intelligible thing, as it seems to me, amidst the perplexity in which we are now involved, and which therefore, it may be useful to fix in our

minds. It is an institution perfectly definite in its object, perfectly consistent and harmonious in its structure. It undertakes the whole intellectual training of those who are destined for the more intellectual callings from the time of their leaving school. It imposes, in the first place, a course of high general culture upon all alike, and it undertakes to determine of its own authority and upon its own responsibility, what that course shall be, allowing an option, if at all, not in deference to the mere inclinations of the students, or with an eye to their commercial or professional objects in after life, but out of regard for their educational needs and aptitudes alone. In determining the course, it has regard, not to utility, at least not to the money value of any study, but to the objects of general culture, the development of the faculties, the refinement of the taste, the awakening of intellectual desires, the production of those habits of systematic reading and sustained thought, which are the conditions of intellectual power. Perhaps culture is, properly speaking, a modern idea, and one which was hardly present to the minds of the organizers of Universities in the Middle Ages; but if a thirst for general knowledge created the Faculty of Arts, it comes practically to pretty much the same thing. This course of general culture is exacted as a condition preliminary to entrance on the study of one of the liberal professions. The previous course of study elevates the profession and ensures its liberal character. The professional study which is to follow, gives an aim and an inducement to the previous course. Of the professional study, utility is of course the object; it is the pursuit by which the student is to earn his bread; but the University undertakes that it shall be carried on in the highest and most liberal spirit, and with a general reference to the improvement of the study as well as to the instruction of the student. The professional studies admitted, are only those of an eminently intellectual character, and those for which it is of real use to prepare the student by a high previous training. This, I repeat, whether practicable in our days or not, whether it was thoroughly realized in its own day or not, is a perfectly clear and intelligible idea, and one to the grandeur of which we must render homage. It is worthy to stand beside whatever else was great and vigorous in the

Middle Ages, beside the Cathedrals, the poem of Dante, the theology of Anselm and Aquinas, the rule of Benedict of Nursia.

But we must remember the historical conditions under which the Mediæval Oxford or Cambridge existed. It existed in an age before printing, when the only source of instruction was the oral teaching of the professor, and the professors were all gathered together in some particular spot which, from its natural or political advantages, afforded shelter to peaceful learning from feudal violence. It existed in an age when guilds and privileged bodies, industrial as well as literary, exercised an authority which in the industrial sphere cannot be exercised now, and which in the literary sphere is exercised with difficulty even in England, with far more difficulty here. It existed in an age of formal rules and laborious initiations, when an artizan served a seven years apprenticeship in his mystery, as the student went through seven years of study before his inception in Arts, and again before his admission to the Doctor's degree in his Faculty. It existed in an age when the liberal professions stood out clearly from the rest, so as to be easily defined for academical purposes, and before the growth of such callings as Civil Engineering, Mining, Dental Surgery, Scientific Farming had raised perplexing questions as to the range of the term liberal, and the limits of the Academical sphere. It existed in an age when the competition of commercial pursuits with those of Academical learning and science for the allegiance of active-minded youth was nothing like so great as it is everywhere, but especially in the United States, at the present day: when, in truth, the shortest path to wealth and greatness for any one but a military adventurer lay through the University, which was the Eldorado as well as the Nova Atlantis of the time. It existed, finally, in an age when students at a University could be treated like schoolboys, and compelled, by schoolboy discipline and punishment, to pursue studies in which they had no special interest, and for which they had no particular taste.

This intelligible University system of the Middle Ages, however, in the course of time and under the pressure of modern exigencies, has been and is still being modified, limited, clubbed in various ways, and mingled with elements more or less extra-

neous, which aspire to the dignity of University studies, and which there is not authority or clearness of conviction enough to exclude. The long periods of study enforced in the Middle Ages have, I believe, nowhere been retained, except as mere forms. But in some of the European Universities, (in those of Italy, for instance, if I rightly understand their constitution,) the general culture denoted by Arts has been altogether lopped off and delegated to the Academies, so that the University is reduced to a mere plan of professional training. In the use of Oxford and Cambridge on the other hand the professional part denoted by the Faculties of Theology, Law, and Medicine has been lopped off, and the University has been reduced to a mere place of general culture, a continuation on a higher level of the classical school, the state from which Oxford and Cambridge are now, as I have said, endeavoring to emerge. In the case of the German Universities again we have the Faculty of Philosophy, which is that of general culture, and equivalent to Arts, placed alongside of the Professional Faculties, the student taking his option between a general and a professional course. Institutions quite unlike in their present character, though having a common origin, and down to a certain date a common history, are thus called by the same name and vaguely regarded as of the same kind. Lastly, from the desire for utility and compression, and at the same time from the natural tendency of everybody and of every institution to bestow upon themselves the highest grade and title, the lines of separation are being blurred on the one hand between the University and every branch of technical training place, and on the other hand between the University, the Academy, and almost the Primary School.

The first modification, that which makes the University merely a place of professional study, raises the question why different professions should be studied in the same place. Would it not be more convenient to study Law where Law is practised, and Medicine where there are the largest hospitals? I have mentioned the difficulty which we find in bringing Law and Medicine back to Oxford from the Inns of Court and the Hospitals of London. The answer given probably will be that it is desirable both on social and intellectual grounds for the

students of each profession to mix with the students of other professions; that it opens the mind, obviates the tendency to professional prejudice, and binds together the intellectual classes of a nation. The validity of this answer depends of course upon the degree of intellectual intercourse which the students really hold; for if they are merely boarding in the same city and attending different lecture-rooms, the interchange of idea and sentiment on the subject of their different studies can hardly be very great. The main question, however, is whether the object altogether is not too artificial and refined to balance any strong considerations of practical convenience. This is the question I mean, if we are founding new Academical institutions: of course institutions once founded and rooted in long habit, such as the professional Universities of Europe, may go on indefinitely as they are.

The second modification, that which makes the University a place of general culture and a continuation of the Academy, is the one with which I have personally had to deal as a Tutor and Professor of the University of Oxford, and as one engaged in the recent reforms there. I frankly confess that my acquaintance with it has often raised in my mind serious doubts as to the expediency of taking ordinary youths from practical callings, or even from their homes, and bringing them to reside for three or four years in a University city with no object more definite than that of general culture. Do most of them get—is it possible that most of them should get—anything like their money's worth? Do most of them receive—is it possible that most of them should receive—anything like an equivalent for the moral risk, the risk of cultivating habits of idleness, extravagance, coarse and selfish indulgence, which under the best system of Academical discipline, they inevitably run? Few, very few, and made, not of common earth, but of the finest clay of humanity, are they who really love knowledge and desire culture for its own sake, and on whom you can depend to work heartily for the purpose of self-improvement without the spur felt by a man engaged in the study by which he is to earn his bread—a spur under the influence of which I have frequently seen the idler of Oxford transformed into the industrious student of the Inns of Court. In cases where the natural taste for liter-

ature, for philosophy, for science, is wanting, how are you to enforce the industry in the absence of which vices enters in with a flood? The answer of the Middle Ages was, by scholastic and monastic discipline, including corporal punishment, for the infliction of which the Statutes of Mediæval Universities and Colleges expressly provide. The answer of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge is, by a severe system of high pressure competition for prizes of immense value—a competition which sometimes prematurely exhausts the energies needed to carry the student up the steep hill of life, and which is scarcely conducive in any case to the formation of a very happy character. But the stimulus of competition after all affects only the ambitious. As to a large proportion of our Oxford and Cambridge students the answer practically is, that they are the sons of wealthy parents, that they are not going to make their own bread, that they have nothing better to do, that they must be somewhere in the years between School and settling in life, that if they are at the University they may pick up something, that at all events they will form acquaintances for after life and gain a knowledge of the world. That world of which they gain a knowledge is too often a world of sensuality unrestrained by the influence of home, untempered by the refinements of a society made up of people of different ages and sexes. Great hopes are entertained from the introduction into the curriculum of the principle of election—the principle, that is, of allowing the students to choose for themselves the study for which they have most taste. I have no doubt that the principle is a good one, though its application must be kept within bounds if we would not have the curriculum break up and the authoritative system of culture altogether disappear. Its introduction into the Oxford system has produced an increase of industry. But we must not forget that a large number of the students who are commonly brought to Universities can hardly be said in an effective sense to have a taste for any literary or scientific subject at all. Many, out of the courses set before them, simply elect the easiest. When I became a Professor at Oxford, the law of the University was that every student must attend a certain number of courses of the Professorial lectures—which courses was left to his own election. One term I was surprised by a vast increase in the number of

my class. I found that the account of the matter was that another Professor in quite a different department was ill, and that his pupils had transferred themselves to me. The connection between our two courses was simply this, that the shortest of all the professorial courses was his; the next shortest was mine. I state these doubts and misgivings plainly. In dealing with Oxford, I felt no difficulty in acting on the precept of the oracle, *Sparta is thy lot, go, make the best of it*. To sweep away obsolete codes of Mediaeval Statutes, to throw open Fellowships and Scholarships to Academical merit, to restore the efficiency of the Professoriate, to put the old classical studies fairly on their trial by abrogating their monopoly, to do away with sectarian tests and restrictions, were objects clearly good in themselves; and it was clearly a good thing for the whole educational world that these old Universities should be placed in a position as far as possible to fulfil their own ideal, and to enable us to decide whether it was still practicable and suitable to the requirements of modern times. But when we are building up new institutions we must be careful to see that the ground on which we build is firm. I mentioned as one of the historical conditions under which Universities had existed, the absence in those times of printed books. A young man while learning a profession or his business at the present day if he has any sort of taste for reading may pick up a certain amount of general culture by the way; while his professional or business training, if it is anything above mere routine, in itself sharpens and strengthens his mind. Is the difference between the College culture of the unambitious student and the culture thus picked up really so great as to balance the outlay of a large sum of money, the devotion of several precious years, and the danger of demoralization? That, once more, is the question upon which I earnestly desire, but have not yet been able fully to satisfy my mind. Practically I found that when I was consulted as to the expediency of sending a young man to my own University, I asked whether he had a decided taste for study, and if I was not assured that he had, I advised that he should not come.

A University the system of which consists of a course of general study alongside of professional courses, the student being left to choose whether his education shall be general or profes-

sional, has evidently no logical account to give of itself. The only account which it can give of itself is that it has settled down into its present shape under the pressure of some practical need, such as the existence of a class of students who wish to be at a University and to take a degree, but who do not wish to enter any profession. This at least is the only account which can be given, unless the general course is made virtually professional by being used as a training school for teachers.

The last phase of University organization which I mentioned, the mixture of the University proper with institutions having nothing of the Academical character, especially with technical schools, can only be regarded either as a final dissolution or as a sort of process of fermentation out of which some new ideas of a University will at last arise. That it is a final dissolution, and that the University, the sphere of which, in all its modifications, is high and liberal education, is about in this practical age, and notably in the most practical nations, to give way to the school of practical science with perhaps certain useful accomplishments, such as modern languages, superadded, is a suspicion which has more than once crossed my mind.

Supposing it to be settled that Universities are to be places of professional study, the question arises what professional studies are to be recognized as within the Academical pale. Thus much seems clear, that the list can no longer be confined to Theology, Law and Medicine. Other professions have arisen in the progress of modern Science which probably demand as much intellect and are as well entitled to the name of Liberal as the sacred three. On the other hand there must be a limit somewhere, if the name University is to retain any significance, and if the University is to be at all distinguished from the mere technical school. And where is this limit to be? If the preliminary course of general culture were still exacted, the question would practically settle itself, because none would come but those to whose professional studies a high course of general culture was a natural and useful introduction. But this position has been in fact abandoned, and the responsibility is cast upon the governing bodies of Universities of drawing a line which is exceedingly difficult to draw. It might have been thought that Mining and Dental Surgery were clearly outside

of the limit; but both have been already admitted within it. Can any element of homogeneity be assigned, binding together naturally such groups of professional studies as the founders and reformers of Universities seem now to hold it their duty to embrace? If no such element of homogeneity can be assigned, where, we must once more ask, is the advantage of collecting together into one place, and including within the same institution things entirely heterogeneous to each other? Would not Classics, Philosophy, Jurisprudence, Mining and Dental Surgery fare better if each had a separate training-place of its own?

I suspect we are somewhat influenced, without being conscious of it, by the current translation of the word University, as though it meant a place of universal science and learning, when in fact it means only a corporation.

These are importunate questions, but when we are more deeply committed, they will meet us in a more importunate form.

Supposing that a general course be retained, whether as preliminary to the general course or as collateral to it, we are called upon to decide anew what the elements of this general course shall be. What position is to be held henceforth by the Classics? That is the main question now for directors of liberal education. Let us approach it in a rational spirit, neither defending the Classics with fanatical devotion, nor assailing them as though they were criminal usurpers; but placing ourselves, if we can, at the true point of view, and considering what measure of change is really required. Nobody concurred more cordially, or took part more actively than I did in breaking down the monopoly of the Classics and welcoming the new studies, in my own University; but I wish to avoid alike the bigotry of Conservatism and the bigotry of innovation.

Undoubtedly the intrinsic value of the Classics has been greatly diminished since the period of the Revival of Learning, when they were first adopted as the staple of high education. There was, at that time, no other literature worthy of the name; no philosophy but the arid speculations of the schoolmen; no history but the monkish chronicle; no oratory but the monkish homily; no poetry but the monkish hymn. The Greek and Latin languages were then the caskets in which all the treasures of intellect were enclosed: and it was as the key to that casket,

not as a mental gymnasium, that Grammar was established as the prime instrument of education for both sexes alike. In fact, it was expected that Greek and Latin, as alone containing any writings worth a cultivated man's notice, would be the languages, we may almost say the vernacular languages, of the cultivated world; and the universal practice of Latin composition in prose and verse, no doubt, had reference to this expectation: Erasmus and Politian did not suppose themselves to be writing in a dead language: they supposed themselves to be writing in one of the only two languages in which writings would live. But we have now not only a modern literature, but three or four modern literatures, each of them equal to the ancient in intellectual power, and of course far superior to it in depth and range both of thought and sentiment, and in nearness to our personal interests and feelings.

Nor is this all; the claim of literature and philosophy altogether to monopolize the higher education, or even to be its principal elements, is challenged by Physical Science, which in the sixteenth century had not advanced beyond the Physical Works of Aristotle.

These are evidently strong grounds for a revision of the system. On the other hand the superiority of Greek and Latin as languages, and as instruments of linguistic training, to the modern languages, appears to me to be undiminished. In fact, it is constantly increasing, since a flood of extraneous and heterogeneous elements, themselves to a great extent classical, though often hideously barbarized, is constantly flowing into the modern languages, principally through the vocabulary of Physical Science. Greek, especially, if you compare it with any modern tongue, seems from its symmetry, its richness of inflection, its unlimited power of forming compounds, its liberty of arranging the words of a sentence in the order of thought, alone worthy to be the organ of the human mind. So marked is this superiority indeed that I can hardly believe that the destinies of the two ancient languages are yet accomplished, or feel sure that Latin will not some day be again the language of Law, and Greek the language of Philosophy and Science. So far, therefore, as linguistic studies are an essential part of education — so far as the habit of analyzing language is necessary or conducive to the perfec-

tion of the powers of thought, Greek and Latin seem to me still to hold their ground. The only linguistic study which can compete with them, as it appears to me, is that of our own language, which, though eminently wanting in the peculiar qualities which I have noted in the Greek, makes up for that want by some peculiar qualities of its own, but above all by its vast practical importance as the organ of our daily thoughts, constantly reacting on the thoughts which it expresses. At all events the culture of the English tongue is a duty to which the attention of all educators ought to be turned. Cultivate your language and it is one of the highest instruments of civilization: neglect it and it becomes a vehicle of barbarism.

The usefulness of a knowledge of modern languages is beyond question. But we now suppose ourselves to be laying out a course of general culture, and we must consider what is conducive to culture, not merely what is useful. The power of reading the modern languages is acquired with great facility by any one who has undergone the linguistic training of Classical education, especially in the use of French, Italian and Spanish, to which Latin is the master-key. The power of speaking a language can be acquired, to perfection only in the country in which it is spoken; and it is there acquired with such ease that to go to a University for it would seem a waste of time. At Oxford we have declined, hitherto, to admit the modern languages into the University course, except so far as a knowledge of them may be useful to candidates for honors in the School of Modern History: but we have an institution for teaching them called the Taylor Institution, with four teachers, German, French, Italian and Spanish, a Professor of Modern Literature and a library of foreign books and periodicals. Two Scholarships are given annually by examination to the most proficient among the students, and the examination is conducted in such a manner as to test as far as possible not merely a conversational knowledge of the languages, but the critical and literary acquaintance with them which could alone be thought an equivalent for Classical Scholarship and a worthy product of high culture. But the winners are so often students of foreign parentage, or who have lived abroad, as to suggest a strong mistrust of the value of proficiency in these studies as a criterion of the proper work of

a University; and when I was last at Oxford there were thoughts of abolishing the Scholarships altogether, as being useless for Aademicall purposes, and of applying the fund to the other objects of the Institution.*

A Classical education ought to include, and that which a candidate for honors received at Oxford did include, besides a philological knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages, a thorough acquaintance with the works of the best Classical authors, philosophers and historians as well as orators and poets. As I have already said, the Ancients, in every department of literature, are surpassed by the Moderns in present interest. But taken as a whole they still seem to me to constitute the best manual of Humanity. For this purpose they have even an advantage in being remote from the questions and the emotions of the present time. We have been asked whether a knowledge of Goethe, for instance, is not as valuable as a knowledge of any author of Antiquity. One answer to that question is that to study Goethe with profit, the mind of the student must be tolerably mature, able in some measure to appreciate the influences, religious, philosophical, political and personal, under which Goethe wrote, to take a stand above those influences and calmly to discriminate in their complex result, truth from falsehood, good from evil. But this is too much to expect from a youth under education brought into contact with such a writer as Goethe. The Classics present Humanity entire but with transparent simplicity, with statuesque calmness, free from modern bias or influence, near to our sympathies (for Homer's nature is ours,) but far from our controversies and passions. It would be difficult to suggest any course of modern philosophy, history, oratory and poetry of which the same could be said.

There are more ways than one of teaching the Classics. They may be taught drily and pedantically; or they may be taught as a man of cultivated and comprehensive mind would teach them, enlarging their scope and increasing their interest by commentary and modern illustration. Supposing the style of teaching to be the highest, are there any better text-books of history even now

*It is now, I see, formally proposed to move in this direction, not by abolishing the Scholarships, but by reducing one of them to an Exhibition.

than Thueydides and Tacitus,—is there any better text-book of Politics than the treatise of Aristotle?

In point of form at all events, and as models and schools of pure taste, the classical writers are still peerless. Our use of the term classical to denote faultless beauty of form is a popular testimony to the fact. On different races Nature bestows different gifts. The Greek she endowed above all races with the sense of beauty. I saw the other day, in the house of a friend, an excellent judge of Art, two casts, one of a great work of Michael Angelo, the other of a great work of Phidias, hanging side by side: and my friend pointed out how superior, not of course in poetry or depth of sentiment, but in artistic beauty, was the masterpiece of the Greek. There is no part of our old classical system which is more decisively condemned than the general practise of Greek and Latin versification. But even this practise exacted, in the first place, a very intimate acquaintance with the Greek and Latin poets, and, in the second place, cultivated the taste for form. I have heard one of the most experienced Chiefs of the English Press remark that his best writers had generally been men who had excelled at School and College in verse composition. It is not in a new country, where the historical monuments and Works of Art which in old countries cultivate the sense of beauty are for the present necessarily wanting, that we can afford to expel the beauties of the Classics from our course of education without finding something to supply their place.

Of course we may have translations; and it is time that some really good English translations should be made. But great poets cannot be translated at all, great orators cannot be adequately translated: no works can be adequately translated of which, as of the works of Plato and Tacitus, a principal excellence is the style.

The fatal objection to classical education, as it has fallen under my experience in my own country, is that it fails with the great mass of the students. The great mass of the students, though so many years of their life are mainly occupied in the study, at the end of their course have not acquired a sufficient knowledge of Latin and Greek to read the ancient authors with facility, to appreciate their beauties, or to receive from them

any mental culture beyond the mere exercise of the faculties involved in getting up any subject for an examination. They have read only a few authors, translate them with difficulty, and on leaving the University lay them and all classical studies aside forever. Whether these same men could be brought to study with success any other subject requiring as much mental effort as the Classics, or to undergo high training of any kind may be doubtful. The increase of industry at Oxford which I mentioned as having followed the adoption of the elective system of studies is found mainly in the School of which Modern History is the staple : and, with all due loyalty to the subject of which I am a Professor, I must say that the intellectual effort undergone in getting up a certain amount of Modern History for Examination, does not seem to me to be of the severest kind. As a mental discipline, and a mode of acquiring mental power, I could never place it on a par with the classical school.

As to the position of Physical Science in University Education, there is only one remark which I will presume to make. It must depend not on the intrinsic value of the subject, which is incontestible, but on its value as an instrument of education. The two ideas must be kept distinct, and for Academical purposes the idea of educational value must be kept predominant ; though in fact the two may coincide, and though the intrinsic value of a subject certainly constitutes a large element of its educational value, while nothing can be more absurd than that ultra-ascetic theory of education which assumes that grinding at a treadmill exercises the mental muscle better than grinding corn. It is impossible to overrate the educational value of that discipline of exact and rigorous investigation checked at every step by facts which is supplied by Physical Science, and perhaps, at present, by Physical Science alone. But that the student may really undergo this discipline, a department of science must be selected which he can thoroughly master. A mere smattering will not suffice. It is open now to everybody to gather from lectures and popular works the leading results of Science, and to imbibe the general ideas which it suggests as to the universe and the estate of man, without going to a University for the purpose. What departments of Physical Science are at present in such a state that a student in his general University course

may thoroughly master them, still leaving room for philosophy and literature as the study of Humanity, it is for the professors of Physical Science to decide. I say, leaving room for literature as the study of Humanity. The evils of a merely philosophical and literary training without science in my own country are well known: the evils of an exclusively scientific training without philosophy and literature are already beginning to appear.

It would be great presumption in me, upon so short an acquaintance, to pronounce an opinion as to the tendency of the crisis in University affairs of which I am a witness in this country. But if I am to state a mere impression, it seems to me that the system of regular courses with its machinery of classes and of degrees as tests of general culture is in a precarious condition: and that the course of things at present tends towards a University which will not be so much a place of mental discipline as a repertory of various kinds of knowledge to which the student may come, choose his own department according to his inclination or destination in life, receive a certificate of proficiency in that special subject and go his way. The multiplication of courses and the looseness with which students are permitted to choose their own subjects and to shift from one subject to another almost amount to a practical abandonment of the authoritative principles of a general course of study: and when that is abandoned the system is at end. The degrees, multiplied in the same manner, cease to carry any definite meaning to the public ear. In the latest of your foundations I find the two systems, that of courses and that of departments existing side by side, and it seems to me that the system of departments, though it may not have made much way as yet, has in it a stronger principle of vitality than the other. Should this be the ultimate result, the character of the University will undergo a great change; but it may be a change in accordance with the exigences of the country and the times. Education will, however, still have, like religion, its counsels of perfection. If those who have the means and the leisure will continue to undergo a thorough course of general culture, it will still be the best tribute which they can pay their country.

The value of University degrees, and their efficacy as inducements to go through an Academical course, appear in this country to be almost irrevocably lost. They would have been long ago lost in England if each of the Colleges in Oxford and Cambridge were a University in itself, granting degrees of its own authority to its students. But I have already explained that with us the Colleges are members of a University which holds the public examinations and grants the degrees. I must say, however, that even in the case of the English Universities, the ordinary degree can hardly be regarded as conferring any literary rank. Our students are divided into passmen or candidates for an ordinary degree, and classmen or candidates for a place in the list of honors, who undergo a separate and much higher examination, and are arranged in accordance with the results of that examination, at Oxford in four classes, at Cambridge in the order of individual merit. It is the place in the list of honors, not the ordinary degree, that really confers literary rank. It is the competition for honors also that keeps up the standard; for before the institution of the Class-list at Oxford, when we had only the ordinary degree, the standard, whatever it might be theoretically and legally, practically fell very low. Sometimes I have been inclined to doubt whether the formal bestowal of literary rank was not a mediævalism, destined to fall into the general grave of the Middle Ages: at other times I have thought that it might still have its value, and perhaps an exceptional value in democratic communities, where no other kind of rank except political rank existed. Thus much, however, seems clear: if the system of granting degrees as certificates of high education is to be retained, the degrees ought to be made genuine: and they can be made genuine only by vesting the power of granting them in some impartial and trustworthy authority. A federation of Colleges for the purpose of examination and graduation is the most obvious mode of effecting the object. We have seen an example of such federation in the case of the Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge; and an example still more pertinent to the present case is furnished by the Queen's University in Ireland, which consists of four Colleges in different parts of the country, having a common board for the purpose of holding examinations and granting degrees. I have said that the institution of a

list of honors appears from experience to be essential to the maintenance of a very high standard. Whether such distinctions would be in accordance with the habits and sentiments of the people of this country, it is for those who know this country to decide. I have myself no strong desire to resort, in any case, to the stimulants of ambition.

Certificates of proficiency in special departments granted by Colleges to their own students may be of more value than general degrees, because the efficiency of the College in a particular department may be better known to the public than its efficiency as a place of general instruction: but even in the case of such certificates the decision of a superior and impartial authority would evidently be far more satisfactory. It is felt in my own country, and I am told it is felt here, that in those callings especially, where ignorance on the part of the practitioner is fraught with danger not only to the property or the convenience, but to the habits and lives of his fellow citizens, security for competent knowledge ought to be exacted: and the only real security is a system of trustworthy certificates. No centralization, no bureaucracy, no abridgment of rational liberty is involved in the combination of colleges or other places of instruction for such a purpose: it no more derogates from the completeness of self-government and freedom of development, than does submission to mechanical laws in the construction of a machine.

On the other hand, if the departmental system is the system of the future, it will surely be necessary that the several Colleges should consider how many departments they are competent to undertake. If each undertakes all — if each professes to teach every subject of human knowledge and to provide libraries and apparatus of every conceivable kind, with resources perhaps only adequate to the proper maintenance of one or two departments — the results cannot fail to be superficial, illusory, and worthless. In the work of education above all things, genuineness, strict veracity, faithful performance of every profession ought to be the rule. A great service would be rendered by any founder who would establish a single department on the very best footing, with a full supply of professors, assistant professors, books and scientific apparatus, as a specimen of what thorough instruction with first rate appliances might be. The distribution

of the different departments among the several Colleges of a State would no doubt be a matter of considerable difficulty, especially when the Colleges, besides being to some extent rival institutions as places of education, are connected with particular religious communities.

Among the bad effects of undertaking too many departments, it can hardly fail to lead to the degradation of the class of teachers. The resources being inadequate, the tendency will almost inevitably be to hire teachers at the lowest market rate, and to set them to teach for as many hours in the day, and as many pupils as possible; and perhaps, what is still worse, to teach two or three different subjects. Such a system would make University education worthless, and bring learning and science themselves into contempt. It may be true that in very new countries things must be done in a very rough way. But here we are in a country which has now come into full possession of vast resources, which is full of intellectual life and aspiration, in which the works produced by European learning and science find their largest market, in which the liberality of founders and benefactors is more flowing, perhaps, than it ever was in any age, or among any people, which is as capable of supplying its institutions with all the material of greatness as the most heraldic nation of the old world. Let them build log-universities if they will in Natal or Alaska.

An Academical teacher cannot worthily discharge even his educational functions unless he has some leisure for private study, and is enabled to keep himself on a level with the advancing thought of the age. If he is merely retailing the little stock which he gathered himself as a student, his intellectual poverty will reappear in the minds of his pupils.

*Invalidique patrum referent jejunia nati.**

But a University worthy of the name has two duties. Education is one: the national advancement of learning and science is the other: and the Professors, while education is their direct duty, ought to discharge both. This is more clearly recognized at present in the old world than in the new. In the great

* This line is quoted by Bacon in a weighty passage of the *Advancement of Learning* bearing on this subject.

Universities of Germany and France, there are professors of a superior order, who are called upon to do comparatively little of the drudgery of tuition, which is undertaken by assistant professors or teachers of a lower grade, and who have abundance of leisure for private study and research. The greatness and usefulness of the German Universities especially are closely connected with this part of their constitution, as not only the learned world but the world of practical science has good reason to acknowledge. At Oxford, as we have seen, there is besides the College Tutors and the Private Tutors, on whom the chief burden of tuition falls, a corps of University professors, whose number and stipends are still being increased, whose educational duties in the course of the year are very moderate, and who are in fact appointed less for the purpose of lecturing than for that of sustaining the credit of the University in their several departments of learning and science. Every Fellow of a College is also, by Statute, elected with reference to his fitness to be a member not only of a place of education, but of a place of learning. Neibulr used to call his pupils his wings: they would have been leaden wings if he had been required to drudge with them like a teacher of a common school. Nor would Newton have been what he was to England and the world if as a Professor at Cambridge he had been compelled to give four recitations a day and to eke out his income by travelling about to deliver public lectures besides. I do not claim for the ministers of learning and science great incomes: they above all men ought to cultivate simplicity of life: but the highest interests of civilization require that such of them as have shown superiority and devotion to their calling should be released from incessant and engrossing toil for daily bread. If it were only as the indispensable precursors of practical science, which cannot advance without the guidance of previous investigations unremunerative to the investigators, such professors would repay reasonable liberality many-fold. The prospect of a higher claim is also requisite as a stimulant to the ordinary teachers, whose calling must be otherwise somewhat hopeless, and being hopeless, will be apt to be somewhat lifeless.

I feel that in extending any remark to this country, I am dealing with a state of society with which I am unfamiliar: but

it seems to me that the function of a University as an institution in which every department of learning and science may be cultivated with the best means and appliances, and at once with the aids and with the salutary checks which the presence of the other departments affords, though secondary, is perhaps the clearest ground for founding such institutions at the present day. I do not know whether it is a dream, but I have sometimes thought that the free study of Theology at Universities, with Academical advantages and under Academical responsibilities, was as likely as anything to abridge the age of perplexity and doubt through which the world is struggling, not without danger to the moral foundations of the social fabric, towards a faith in which history and science shall be reconciled with religion.

I would submit to the Association that it is also desirable in organizing Universities always to provide for the more zealous and promising students the means of prolonging their residence at the Universities and carrying on their studies, perhaps as assistants to the Professors. It seems desirable that every Professor of Physical Science especially should have a certain number of superior pupils working under his directions, and training themselves for independent investigation. Hardly otherwise can a regular succession of duly qualified teachers be provided for the nation.

I would also submit that it is desirable to provide some individual superintendence for each student in his course of study, such as is provided by the tutorial system of the colleges in my own country. I may be prejudiced by English habits, but I have no great faith in the educational efficiency of public lectures. Often I suspect they lead the student to mistake mere mental excitement and amusement for the acquisition of knowledge, and rather indispose him to dry and severe study. Even coupled with recitations, I hardly think that without individual superintendence they afford a sufficient security for the real hard work which alone leads to any substantial results, which alone is worthy of the name of education.

There are one or two more points which I would just submit to the consideration of the meeting. If we are to have special departments, I would plead for a department of Political

Science. Not that I take a Chinese view of politics, or imagine that statesmen can be formed in a University without experience of the political world. But a thorough training in History, Political Philosophy, in the great principles of Jurisprudence and in Political Economy, including of course the history and statistics of national trade and production, could not fail to be beneficial, could not fail to assist in elevating the mere politician into the statesman. The world is beginning to discover that politics are not a matter of passion and declamation, but a science, and that it is only by treating them as a science that any results beyond the mere triumph of parties and the personal success of place-hunters, any results in fact beneficial to the community, are to be obtained. Not only the practical politician might derive benefit from such a department, but the journalist, the greatness of whose power and the importance of whose calling to the community have now become a rhetorical commonplace, and whose articles have in fact almost superseded the influence of Parliamentary and Congressional debate.

College discipline is another point to which I venture to think more serious and systematic attention ought to be turned. At Oxford the College is, or aims at being, a sort of family. The students both lodge and take their meals within the walls. Dinner they take in the College Hall, where the Fellows sit at the high table on a sort of dais, the students at tables in the body of the hall. The Tutors and such of the other Fellows as are resident, live and pass the night in the College, so that authority is always present. This system has great advantages, but it would scarcely be practicable without the rule, embodied in our mediæval statutes, which requires the Fellows to remain unmarried. The Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge are half monastic institutions, the growth of the Middle Ages, which, with certain modifications, may continue to exist on the soil where they grew, but would not bear transportation. On the other hand, the life of the German or French student living in lodgings under no effective discipline, is not satisfactory: I cannot help thinking that its evils are a heavy set-off against the intellectual fruits of education. The dormitory system in a College, in which the Tutors or Professors

themselves are not resident, seems to me the most untenable system of all; because it is at night, when the students are collected in the dormitories, that the most objectionable things are likely to take place. The discipline of adult students is under any system very difficult, especially if it is to be administered by Professors chosen, not for their qualities as disciplinarians, but for their qualities as teachers. Perhaps its importance may diminish if the system of special departments is adopted, because the student in a special department will have come for a very definite object, and will probably be pretty well occupied with that object during his residence. I watch with great interest and with considerable hope, the experiment which is being tried at the Cornell University, under, as it seems to me, very good auspices, of investing the discipline with a military character, appealing to the sense of military honor as its motive power, and placing it in the hands of a military man specially qualified for the office. I suspect this is the only effective discipline to which youths are likely to submit, especially in a democratic country, and in a country where the youth is so soon a man.

I look also with great interest on another experiment which is being tried in the same University, the combination of intellectual training with manual labor. Evidently this combination has its limits. The labor, not to interfere with the main object of the student's life, must be such as will serve in place of physical exercise, and even as relaxation from mental toil, and it must not draw too largely on the fund of nervous energy which supplies the hand and the brain alike. Within those limits I do not see why the experiment should not succeed, and if it has any measure of success, it will help to soften away the strict line of demarcation which at present divides the intellectual classes from those who labor with their hands. As a mode of enabling poor men to obtain a University education, it may be liable to some danger, unless a strict entrance examination is required as a proof that the youth possesses real aptitude for an intellectual calling, and is not brought to the University merely by a vague desire for a higher social position. It may seem a hard doctrine, but I confess that in elections to our Oxford Scholarships, I was always rather against giving preferences on

the ground of mere poverty. It seemed to me that if a poor man had intellectual power enough to sustain himself at the level to which he was raised by a University education, you did him and the community alike a service by raising him; but that if he had not, you did the reverse of a service, not only to the community, but to him. We want a philosophy which shall practically convince us that all callings which are equally useful to society, are equal, and that all honest workers, intellectual or manual, will receive equal wages from the author of society in the sum of things. The sole reason for interfering to take a man out of his calling, ought to be that he is able to do more for society in a different calling. The happiness of a class is not increased, nor is its condition rendered more just by taking a few men out of it; on the contrary, it may be made unhappy by being filled with restlessness and discontent.

Perhaps the general survey of the subject which I have attempted to take, would hardly be complete if I left unnoticed the question which has been raised in my own country as well as here, as to the expediency of extending University education to women. It is a question which we ought to approach in the most liberal and unprejudiced spirit, but at the same time with caution, because a false step in anything affecting the family, is more serious than any error in politics. On one point my mind was pretty well made up. I felt that, unless physiology should give us new light as to the relations between the two sexes with respect to their power of enduring labor and their nervous sensibility, I could not be induced to be a party to any plan for submitting women to the severe strain of our competitive examinations. The system was trying enough, and its efforts questionable enough when it was applied to men. For the rest, it seems obvious that the general education of a class or sex must be regulated, not with reference to exceptional cases, but with reference to the normal destination of its members in life; and the normal destination of a woman in life is to be a wife and mother, supported while she performs her conjugal and maternal duties by the labor of her partner's brain and hands. We have to decide first, whether the same Academical education suits both men and women, and secondly, whether it is desirable that they should receive it in the same Universities.

These problems ought to be solved separately, and in their natural order. Vassar College is trying the first experiment, it would seem, in the fullest and most satisfactory manner, not only for this country, but for all. It is surely reasonable to await the result before proceeding to the second experiment. The fact that the movement in favor of the admission of women to Universities is simultaneous, and to some extent connected, with the political movement called the Woman's Rights movement, would lead us, without passing any judgment on the political question, to be more scrupulous in applying to the educational question the experimental test.*

To solve all these problems and place University education on a sound basis, education will have need of chiefs capable of watching the currents, satisfying the exigencies, tempering the propensities of their time.

I have now brought the chief points which occurred to me, under the notice of the Association. I have frankly stated my own misgivings and perplexities; but in so doing, I trust that I have not done anything alien to the spirit of a society professing to be scientific, and formed, not for the advocacy of opinions, but for the discovery of truth.

GOLDWIN SMITH.

* I am speaking merely of the proposal to extend to women the system of male University education. No one doubts the necessity of greatly improving female education.

THE TEXAS CATTLE DISEASE.

A PAPER READ AT THE GENERAL MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATION AT ALBANY,
NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 18th, 1869.

I. CONSUMPTION OF BEEF.

France consumes, annually, nine hundred and ten thousand tons of beef; England consumes one million four hundred and sixty thousands of tons; the United States consume two millions of tons. Very few of us really grasp the idea involved in the word "one million;" to most it is a noun of multitude, and that is all. If we conceive of a heap of one million pieces of meat each weighing a pound, it would take a man twenty-three days to distribute them, if he worked steadily for twelve hours in the day, and gave out one piece every second of time during the whole period. Remember, I have been speaking of one million of *pounds*. There are four thousand millions of pounds in two millions of tons. It would take a man, who distributed at the rate of one pound each second of time, and worked without intermission twelve hours a day, ninety-two thousand days, or two hundred and fifty-two years to distribute this mass of meat.

The United States had between twenty-five and twenty-six millions of cattle when the rebellion broke out, the value of which in round numbers was one thousand millions of dollars. Texas had three millions of cattle; and contrary to what is usually supposed, they did not diminish during the civil war, but they in fact multiplied enormously. There are now twelve millions of cattle feeding on the broad grass lands of Texas.

In the year 1866, two millions and sixty-two thousand eight hundred animals (including sheep and swine,) were slaughtered in the single city of New York, valued at over thirty-three millions of dollars.

Mr. Lewis F. Allen, in his very excellent work on cattle, gives some estimates respecting the amount of cattle consumed

in the United States. These estimates are all too small, but we will adopt them for that very reason. For our purpose we prefer an under-estimate to the real truth; we can comprehend it better. He assumes that New York takes about three hundred and twelve thousand head of beef cattle annually; that the cities of Philadelphia and Baltimore consume about as much more; that the seaboard cities of New England will use up a similar number; that the Southern seaboard cities, including the cities on the Mississippi accessible to sea-going steamers, will require as many more. These four groups of cities will then consume, in round numbers, twelve hundred thousand cattle. These cities in the aggregate contain about one-tenth of the population of the country. It would not therefore be a very violent assumption, if we should say, that the remaining nine-tenths of the population consumed ten times as much beef as the other tenth; but we will content ourselves with a much more modest estimate. We will only assume that they eat *three* times as much. Then the consumption of the country will sum up five million head of cattle. If we place these five millions of animals eight abreast, the line would extend from the city of New York along the Hudson River, New York Central and Lake Shore railroads to Chicago without a break. Measured by money they are worth three hundred millions of dollars, which far exceeds our whole internal revenue.

One of the first ideas that will occur to us after we have in some measure mastered the magnitude of the meat question is: How is this vast aggregate diffused among the individual consumers? This is indeed a question of no slight significance. Meat is a perishable article; if there is an oversupply, it will be wasted; if there is an undersupply, there will be a most provoking dislocation of our domestic arrangements. In fact, there is never too much and never too little. We never exercise any forecast or provision about our dinners. If we have got money in our pockets, we are perfectly certain that just such a steak or a roasting piece, as we want, is lying all ready for us at our butchers. Some subtle, latent law of supply seems to extend through all the ramifications of produc-

tion and distribution, which gives us just enough and none to spare, without any intervention of the legislature.

The legislature indeed should never approach the cattle question heedlessly or hastily. We cannot contemplate the subject without being struck with the multiplicity and complexity of the interests involved in the production and distribution of beef. The breeder, the grazier, the drover, the middle-man, the butcher, the railroad corporation, the tanner, the comb maker, the Prussian blue maker, the sugar-refiner, the maker of neat's-foot oil, and many others, are all deeply interested in the matter. We cannot touch the cattle question at any point, without rousing up a host of interests, which we never dreamed of before as having any kind of connection with it.

II. COST OF BEEF.

Next to an abundant and uniform supply of good beef, we are most interested in its cheapness. At the present time the best steaks and roasting pieces cost to the consumer from thirty to forty cents a pound. Very few animals are sold alive in the New York market for less than one hundred dollars. In Texas, cattle weighing one thousand pounds can be bought in any quantities at eight dollars a head, as we have been assured by many of the most reliable men residing in that State.

Mr. McCoy, the proprietor of the great cattle depot in Kansas, gave me the following statement, which was confirmed by several very intelligent drovers :

Cost per head in Texas,	\$10.00, (this is \$2.00 higher than the present price.)
Driving to Abilene, . . .	2.00
Car expenses to New York,	9.50
Feed bill at Stations, . . .	1.50
To pay shipper, ...	.50

Cost per head in New York, \$23.50

Sixteen dollars and a half on each animal, is as large a profit as any drover would expect to make. This would make the cost of the animal in New York forty dollars, with an ample profit for all the parties concerned. Why then are the butchers of New York compelled to pay an advance of sixty dollars on

this price? The answer to this question is of great importance, and will be very instructive in many ways.

We do not hesitate to assert, that the main cause of this enhanced price is to be found in the reckless cruelty, which is practised towards the animals from the time they leave Texas until they arrive in New York. The difference between the amount actually paid for animals in that city, and the amount for which they might very easily be afforded, may be described as a pecuniary expression of the penalty for the violation of the Divine law.

III. THE TEXAS CATTLE DISEASE.

This disease, though new in the State of New York and in the New England States, when it made its appearance in 1868, was by no means a new thing at the West, having been known there since 1854, when the Texas cattle were first brought into Illinois. At that early day the Texas cattle themselves were to all appearances quite well, but the native cattle that grazed on the same pastures, or that drank at the same streams, or that travelled over the same roads, contracted disease, and great numbers of them died. In the year 1860, the outbreak of the rebellion effectually stopped the Texas cattle trade, and with it the disease also ceased. In 1868 the trade was again actively reopened, and again the disease made its appearance.

In the early part of August in that year, a very peculiar diarrhoea and dysentery appeared, mostly among laboring men and mechanics and their families in New York. The usual remedies seemed to have no effect, and many died. While the physicians were thus baffled, it came to the knowledge of the Board of Health that a large number of cattle were sick at Communipaw with a severe, but unknown disease. Dr. Harris, the Registrar of the Board of Health, who had ample opportunities to study the yellow fever, and who, as Health Officer of the Port of New York, had seen and studied every form of malignant disease, went over to Communipaw with a full staff of assistants, and made a very thorough examination of the sick cattle. He saw at once that it was a disease unknown to veterinary science, having a very striking analogy with yellow fever as manifested in the human subject. In view of the facts

which were reported by Dr. Harris, the New York Board of Health ordered, that all meat coming into the city should be inspected before being offered for sale, and the police were specially enjoined to enforce the order. They also authorized Dr. Harris to take all the necessary measures for ascertaining the nature of the disease and the best methods of securing exemption from its ravages. Dr. Harris, with admirable sagacity and foresight, immediately organized a system for ascertaining the history and pathology of the disease, and its relation to human disorders. Dr. Stiles was assigned to the microscopic department. Dr. M. Morris to the pathological department, and Dr. Chandler to the chemical department. The joint labors of these gentlemen have been very successful, and have cast the fullest light upon what was previously the least known disorder. Their investigations show clearly that the study of epizootics is very important.

I will now endeavor to sketch the disease as it appears :

1. *External Symptoms.*—The diseased animals stand apart from the herd. The feet are drawn up together under the body. The back is arched, and the animal makes frequent, and generally ineffectual, attempts to defæcate. The gait is staggering, as if from paralysis of the hinder extremities. The head hangs down below the level of the back. The eyes have a stupid, staring expression, sometimes protruding from their sockets. The dung is at times hard, at times fluid. Both diarrhœa and constipation are habitual symptoms. The urine, often totally suppressed, is generally of a dark red color. There is a gamy odor, strongest about the region of the flank. The animals are very thirsty, and generally eat dry food to the very last moment. They rarely loose their end. The normal pulse of a bullock is about forty beats in a minute. In this disease it reaches to one hundred and twenty, but the strokes are weak and tremulous. There is often a frothy drool from the corners of the mouth, to be distinguished from the healthy drool by the air vesicles, with which it is filled. The temperature of the rectum in healthy animals is between 98° and 100° F. In this disease it sometimes rises to 110° F. If any animal indicates a temperature over 106° F., it has never been known to recover. If the temperature exceeds 102° in connection with

any two or three of the preceding symptoms, we may establish our diagnosis with certainty and pronounce it the Texas cattle disease. There is often a good deal of muscular twitching, (*sub sultus tendinum*,) especially in the flank. The coat is generally rough and staring. The animal gets up and lies down frequently, and gives other indications of uneasiness. In milch cows the milk dries up rapidly.

These symptoms are by no means invariable, presenting themselves sometimes together and sometimes separately; but we always observe the staggering gait, the rapid pulse, the high temperature of the rectum, the hanging head, and in milch cows the disappearance of the milk. These symptoms develop themselves *per saltum*. The first appearance of the disease is its last stage. At the West it passes more gradually through its successive stages.

2. *Post Mortem Appearances*.—When the sick animal is killed and eviscerated, the meat is of a dark mahogany brown, and the fat is of a greenish yellow color. Sometimes when the disease has been lingering, the meat has a reddish appearance, somewhat like the pigment known as Spanish brown. The muscular tissue on being cut into, is found full of serum, and it exhales a sickish odor. The disease impresses its sign-manual so clearly upon the meat, that no one needs to mistake it.

The liver is usually much enlarged with fatty degeneration. The average weight of a healthy bullock's liver is twelve pounds; in this disease we often find it weighing from fifteen to twenty pounds. Dark blood often oozes from it, when cut into.

The gall bladder is greatly distended in most cases with thick flaky bile. There are often as much as six gills of this fluid found in the bladder.

The spleen is much discolored on the exterior surface. It is very dark and mottled like old Castile-soap, but darker. Sometimes it is found tinged with yellow, blue and purple. On being cut into, it is quite black, and a dark fluid exudes from it in considerable quantity. It is enormously enlarged. The average weight of the spleen in a healthy animal, is one pound and a half; in sick animals, often from five to six pounds.

The rumen or paunch, or first stomach, rarely shows any signs of disease, except that the temperature of its contents is much raised.

The reticulum, honey comb, or second stomach, has shown no marks of disease in any of the animals that I have examined.

The omasum, manyplas, or third stomach, generally shows marked indications of the disease. Its leaves are hot and dry, with inflamed patches here and there upon its interior surface; the epithelium is easily rubbed off by the finger: sometimes the film of food on the leaves is dry and stands upon the surface, divided into round cakes, looking like gun wads, which cannot be detached without bringing the epithelium along with it.

The abomasum, rennet, or fourth stomach, shows the most characteristic marks of the disease. The folds of the upper part of this stomach are always more or less congested, and the tops of the ridges occasionally abraded, the abrasions being filled with clots of blood. The lower or follicular portion of this stomach is much redder than in health, and is the seat of ulcers, varying in size from a grain of wheat to two inches in diameter. These ulcers eat down through the epithelium and mucous coat. I have seen the lowest or muscular coat of the stomach very much corroded, but have never seen it entirely perforated. When the animal is convalescent, lymph is deposited around the edges of the ulcer, which becomes gradually organized. Successive rings of lymph are deposited centripetally until the depression is entirely filled. The appearance of the surface which has been thus supplied, is unlike the original, not being covered with follicles, but is smooth, and not of a drab color, but reddish. It never seems to form a true digesting surface.

The ileum shows red points, which are collected into red bands round its interior surface.

The cecum is deeply injected at the bottom, and the epithelium is softened throughout.

The rectum has longitudinal inflamed stripes, which on being examined with a lens are found to be caused by minute red spots. There are usually eight of these stripes situated on the highest ridges of the rugae. Near its termination the circumference of the rectum shows marks of inflammation.

The kidneys are very dark externally, congested, mottled and much engorged. The cortical tissue is found to be softened and breaks down readily under the finger; bloody puncta are found all over the interior.

The brain varies much in appearance; sometimes the vessels of its surface and the investing membranes are very much engorged, sometimes its entire substance is congested, sometimes it is softened throughout, sometimes the softening is confined to the base of the brain.

The Heart, Lungs, Trachea and Pancreas are generally found in a healthy condition.

Having thus defined the symptoms of the disease, let us proceed to inquire into the cause of it.

When Dr. Stiles first applied his microscope to the blood of diseased cattle, he perceived that the corpuscles were not round and entire as they appear in health, but crenated more or less, and giving unmistakable evidences of disintegration. Subsequently he discovered minute black dots in abundance floating in the blood, the bile and the urine; next he ascertained that these dots were the spores of some fungus, which he saw germinating in the form of cells, at first non-nucleate, afterwards nucleated.

No animal having the Texas cattle disease was ever found without these spores, which would lead us to suppose that their presence was the cause of the disease, were they not also found in animals in perfect health.

By transferring a cell to the cut surface of an apple, or potato, or a piece of fresh bread, we see it attain to its full development, and produce spores identical with those found floating in the fluids of the diseased animal. It is a cryptogam, and has been found by Dr. Harris to be a *Tilesia caries*.

It is now tolerably well ascertained that the cattle disease has two factors. One is the spore of *Tilesia caries*, which may exist in great abundance for any length of time, without working injury if the other is not present. This is a certain morbid condition. Whenever the animal having these spores becomes feverish or suffers from indigestion, the spores begin to germinate and to increase in bulk. If they show this increase, they must obviously obtain the matter from without, from the *blood corpuscles*, which, as the microscope has shown, are destroyed by the progress of the disease. The spores then grow at the expense of the blood, sucking out its vitality. Deprived of their supply from the blood, the tissues turn elsewhere. A series of chemical transformations begin, and ulcerations, congestions,

inflammations, fatty degenerations occur all over the body. Dr. Chandler's experiments show conclusively that during the progress of the disease, the relative amount of water in the blood is constantly on the increase, while the blood globules, the albumen, and all the nutritive elements of the blood as constantly decrease. If the spores continue to germinate, the animal dies from a lack of nutrition from the blood. If the germination is arrested, the animal recovers. The Texas cattle disease is therefore a *disease of the blood*.

There are two routes by which the Texas cattle are brought to their feeding grounds in the Western States. One is along the Bayous of the Red River country to the Mississippi River, from whence they are transported to Cairo by steamboats. The other is by way of Abilene in Kansas, eight miles west of Fort Riley. The cattle thus transported are driven for the most part through Cook County which lies on the northern line of the State, and they are compelled to make a detour of about one hundred and fifty miles to the right, through the Indian Territory, in order to avoid the predatory tribes of Indians that infest the straight road, and to avail themselves of the protection of Forts Towson and Gibson. On the first of these routes the cattle suffer much for want of food and drink. There is no grass for a great part of the way, and the coarse herbage alone found there, is vitiated by the resinous droppings of the trees. Water too is scarce, and when found is putrid and disgusting. The cattle are driven by their heartless drovers without mercy, many dying upon the road, and such as arrive on the Mississippi being in the most miserable condition. The half famished beasts, driven or dragged on board the boats, are rarely supplied with food and water until they arrive at Cairo. We have here all the conditions for the production of the Texas cattle disease. The animals bring the spores in their bodies from the feeding grounds of Texas. The privations of food and water, and the cruel treatment, bring on gastritis and fever, which, as we have seen, furnish the proper soil for the spores to germinate in. Every post mortem examination of these animals at the expiration of their journey has revealed the presence of this disease. When landed at Cairo, the cattle have decreased so much in weight since leaving Texas, that they must remain on

the Western feeding grounds about a year to recover their lost flesh. We now begin to see why the butchers of New York must pay one hundred dollars a head for cattle, when the cost of delivering them there, if properly treated, is only forty dollars. We must add to the cost, the price of repairing the damages which the cruelty of the drover has inflicted upon them, and when we find that it requires a whole season's feeding to repair the damage, we can readily see that the cost price of the animal will be greatly increased.

But this is not all. These Texan bullocks carry disease to the native cattle along their route. During the past season, out of four thousand native cattle in and around Tolono, Ill., all but two hundred and fifty died of the disease communicated by Texas cattle. Dr. Jones, of Tippecanoe County, Indiana, bought a drove of one hundred Texas bullocks brought by the way of Cairo, and put them with his own herd about the 1st of July, 1868. In three weeks his own herd began to sicken and die of the Texas disease, and he lost one hundred and twenty-four out of one hundred and sixty bullocks. This is an example of the severe losses suffered by western graziers from the Texas cattle disease, — all of which might be avoided if the cattle were transported with humanity from Texas to Cairo.

It may be asked, why it is that the native cattle mostly all die from the disease, while the Texas cattle mostly all recover from it, though many do not. The Texas cattle are a wild race, of which the sickly and weakly die young, and none but the hardy and vigorous attain to maturity, which accounts for their greater resistance to the disease.

The cattle brought by the way of Abilene arrive in better condition than those brought via Cairo, as there is an abundant supply of nutritious grass along the route, and water is also more abundant and of much better quality, but there is a great deal of cruelty on the way. The rude Texan drovers tell us in their rough phrase that "they give 'em hell the two first days," which they explain by saying that they drive them ninety miles during that period, which is four times as far as they ought to be driven. Then the animals give out, no yells nor blows, nor pricking with pointed goads being able to push them forward.

The cattle disease now seizes them, for the rest of the distance their progress is slower, and when they arrive at Abilene, they weigh from two to three hundred pounds less than when they started from Texas. In consequence of this weakness and loss of weight, they are obliged to remain there some time before going to their feeding grounds: this is an addition to the cost not included in Mr. McCoy's estimate. Post mortem examinations of cattle coming by Abilene, show that nearly all have had the disease; but they do not communicate it to native cattle as much as those coming from Cairo. It was for a long time supposed that none but Texas cattle could communicate the disease; but it is now fully demonstrated that native cattle can, and do communicate it to each other.

The Texas cattle disease enhances the price of beef to the consumer in another way. An animal may be looked upon as a machine for converting grass and hay into meat and fat. It does this in the cheapest manner when all its organs are adjusted to each other, and in the dearest, when they are disturbed, as in this disease. I saw an admirable illustration of this at Providence, R. I. A car load of sick cattle was brought there early in September, several of them died, some were slaughtered, ten were turned into a quarantine yard having access to a salt marsh. I saw them towards the last of the month when they were all convalescent; in about four weeks afterwards they appeared well and the owner began to feed them for the market. From that time they were supplied with as much nutritious food as they would eat. A letter from Dr. Snow, written in January, says that they were not then fit for the market. The reason is plain. So large a part of the digestive surface of the fourth stomach was destroyed by ulceration, that there was only enough left to supply the waste of the system, and not enough to supply additions to the fat and the muscles, a large proportion of their food being undigested and lost in the dunghéap. The fourth stomach or abomasum is well known as the true digestive organ in which all the chemical changes are effected.

The price of cattle is enhanced in New York by cruelty in another form. Western feeders generally concur in the statement that they give on an average one hundred bushels of

shelled corn to each bullock during the winter, without increasing his weight by a single pound. A foreman who fattened nine thousand head of cattle in the winter of 1867-8, assured me that the above amount was consumed on an average without any gain of weight.

Farmers in New York, Pennsylvania and New England, know from experience that for every ten pounds of corn given to a bullock, they can add one pound of flesh to the animal. The six thousand pounds of corn fed to these Illinois cattle ought to have added six hundred pounds of meat to each animal, but it did not add a single pound. Let us call the loss three hundred pounds, which will be very far within bounds; even then, the loss from this source on the three hundred and twelve thousand head of cattle consumed in the City of New York, would amount in the aggregate, to ninety three millions six hundred thousand pounds of beef. The western drovers will not carry on their business at a loss. If they waste six thousand pounds of corn on each bullock, they make the New York consumer pay for it. This one item will account for a considerable proportion of the sixty dollars a head that we are looking after.

Now why is it that the New York farmer can get one pound of meat for every ten pounds of corn, while the western farmer gets nothing?

The answer is that the former makes his bullock comfortable, the latter makes his miserable. The former furnishes his fattening animal with a warm shed, a soft bed, plenty of food and water at regular intervals, freedom from disturbance by other animals, from frights, and from all unnecessary labor. The latter leaves his animal beneath the open sky, subjects him to snow, rains and the howling blast; gives him no bed but the earth, never cards his coat, throws his corn into the mud, and compels him to grind it for himself, to fight with other cattle for every mouthfull of food, and in many cases to travel a mile or two for his water. The forfeiture of these three hundred or six hundred pounds of beef is the penalty which God exacts for violating His laws.

An animal never appropriates any of its food to the formation of flesh and fat until he has first applied it to all the purposes of the animal economy. If the temperature of an animal falls

below 92° F. he dies from inanition: if it exceeds 108° he dies from febrile vitality. He must maintain his temperature at some point intermediate between these two extremes or he must perish. If it requires all the carbon in his food to keep his temperature at 98° F., he obviously has none to spare for the formation of fat. If by shelter we prevent the radiation of half the heat which he dissipates without shelter, then half the carbon which he was obliged to expend in the formation of heat may be expended in the formation of fat. Every muscular motion, whether expended in grinding his corn, in walking for his water, or in fighting for his food, causes a waste of muscular tissue, which must be repaired by the food, and no addition to the tissue can be deposited until these repairs are made. If we economize this muscular force by utilizing the prairie winds and compelling them to grind the food of the ox: if we protect him from the attacks of other cattle; if we convey his food and water to him, we enable him to apply a much larger proportion of his albuminous food to the formation of new muscular tissue, and thus increase the supply of his most valuable parts.

There is still another form of cruelty to animals, which enhances the price of beef to the consumer. This is the inhuman manner, in which they are transported to New York from the feeding grounds of the West. This journey occupies about four days, and during this period they lose upon an average one hundred pounds apiece. When transported with decent humanity they lose but twenty pounds. Here is a loss of eighty pounds per head which is due solely to downright brutality. The aggregate of this loss on the three hundred and twelve thousand head consumed in New York, is twenty-four millions nine hundred and sixty thousand pounds. In other words, New York pays for this amount of meat, but never gets it.

To understand what is done to these poor animals, you must see it, and hear it for yourselves. I have not the graphic skill to delineate it. The yells, like those of a ferocious mob, the heavy blows, the pricking with spears, the multiplication of tortures to get them into the cars, cannot be described. Once packed in, half wild with terror, seorching under the blazing sun of summer, they are dragged on for twenty-four hours, before they are allowed to taste a mouthful of food, or drink a

drop of water. Could a fiend invent a more ingenious or a more acute system of torture? After a brief rest, they are hurried on the cars again to undergo a similar routine of suffering. This is the best treatment that they receive. If the market suddenly rises, the telegraph sends orders to the West to push on the cattle with the utmost speed before the price goes down. Then there is no rest for them, no food, no water for four long days. It is not wonderful, that this should strip a hundred pounds of meat from their bones.

I think we shall now have little difficulty in understanding why beef costs sixty dollars more per head in New York than it ought to do. First there are the cruelties inflicted on their passage from Texas to Cairo, which takes off from two to five hundred pounds in weight. Then the disease, born of these cruelties, impairs the digestive functions so that restoration of the lost flesh is effected at great cost. Then comes the further waste arising from the exposure to cold and storms, from careless feeding, and finally from the sufferings of the transit to New York. These causes taken together, are amply sufficient to account for the enhanced price of the bullocks in the City of New York.

We have already said that the consumption of meat, tainted with the Texas cattle disease, caused an outbreak of a most dangerous form of diarrhœa in New York. So much is clear. But are we entitled to assert that diseased meat will *always* cause disease under all circumstances? Is it certain that the meat, which caused disease in August, will cause disease in December? These important questions have never received proper attention from scientific men, and we cannot answer them positively.

I have not a shadow of doubt, (although I have no proof to offer in confirmation of my opinion,) that very many obscure diseases, whose origin baffles the most acute scrutiny of physicians, have their origin in the eating of diseased meat. Every animal that is killed after travelling four days on railroad cars without food or water, is in a diseased condition, the marks of gastritis and inflammation are perfectly plain. Meat eaten in this condition is very likely to cause disease in those who partake of it, and especially in those who are constitutionally weak and predisposed to sickness.

Together with my colleagues in the cattle commission, I have visited a great number of the largest slaughter-houses in our great cities, including the best and the worst. I can testify from my own observation, that a great many cattle with various marks of disease, are sent to the markets and sold as choice beef. The butchers, I fear, have no idea that good looking meat is any the worse for having encased a diseased liver or a degenerated kidney or inflamed bowels.

Nearly every week an ox suffering with a cancer, passes through Buffalo on its way to our markets. I do not know that every one who eats the meat thus filled with cancer cells, will have a cancer, but I think there are few who would knowingly take the risk. It certainly does not seem right that men and women should be exposed to so great a danger unwittingly. They ought at least to be warned of their peril, and determine for themselves whether they will take the risk or not.

Scarcely a single cattle train comes into Buffalo or Albany, especially in the summer season, without one or more bullocks dead or dying. There is always a low class of butchers at the stations to buy these dead cattle: they sell them, of course, and their customers eat them. Such food cannot be eaten with impunity.

One word more, and I will trespass upon your patience no longer.

If we obtain the average price of wheat for a century, as we may do from the records of Hospitals and other public institutions, arranging the price for each year in a tabular form, and in the next column we place the number of marriages, and in the next the number of illegitimate births, and in the next the number of crimes that have been committed during each year, the relation of these subjects will at once appear. We shall see that as the number of marriages increases, the price of wheat decreases; and as the price of wheat increases the number of marriages decreases; and as marriages decrease, illegitimate births and crimes increase. Because beef also is food, it also exercises the same controlling influence over the social state. The present high price of beef is productive of many evils, moral as well as material, which cannot be removed while it continues. Here is room for earnest effort. The facts, that we

have stated, should be deeply pondered by the Philanthropist, the Statesman and the Christian.

Professor Gamgee has invented a process, by which meat may be transported any distance and kept for any length of time without injury. I have tasted mutton preserved by his process three months after it had been killed. It was very good wholesome meat. It is said, that simply dipping meat in a solution of sulphate of lime will preserve the meat fresh and sweet for months. If this is true, it is a much simpler and cheaper method than Professor Gamgee's. During the last summer a refrigerator car ran between St. Louis and Providence, bringing peaches, grapes, fresh beef and mutton from St. Louis. Returning it carried fresh fish to St. Louis. By resorting to either of these three methods, cattle may be killed in Texas and transported to the Atlantic seaboard without any cruelty and without any loss.

A car has recently been built in which cattle may be transported alive without crowding and in perfect comfort, fitted up with feeding and watering troughs.

A Convention of Cattle Commissioners and others interested in the cattle trade, assembled at Springfield, Illinois, in December last, and agreed on a series of propositions which the Commissioners from the several States were directed to embody in the form of laws to be submitted to their several legislatures. It remains to be seen if these measures can be brought into successful operation.

JOHN STANTON GOULD.

THE SUPERVISION OF PUBLIC CHARITIES.

A PAPER READ AT THE GENERAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN SOCIAL SCIENCE
ASSOCIATION, ALBANY, FEBRUARY 18th, 1839.

IN a lifetime so short as ours, some things must be taken for granted. I shall, therefore, with your permission, assume that there is an occasion, a justification, and even a necessity for public charity. I know that this has been denied, and is still called in question by some, who maintain that for the public to assume the support of the poor, and the relief or improvement of suffering humanity, is to diminish the natural humane sentiment in the heart of relatives, friends, neighbors, and the community generally: while at the same time, it increases the number and the helplessness of those who demand relief. Without stopping to refute this argument which contains a certain element of truth, it is only necessary to say that we have established, whether wisely or unwisely, a far-reaching system of public charity, which cannot at once be abandoned, even if all men were agreed that it ought to be; and which needs all the more, if these assumptions are correct, a careful, comprehensive, and wise supervision. Indeed, the first step towards abolishing the necessity for public, legalized charity, would be its closer investigation and oversight, by which alone can be found the means and opportunity of reducing it to a minimum. There can be no dispute then, between those who favor, and those who distrust, the relief of the poor at public expense, as to the propriety of seeing how that relief is applied.

It is precisely here, however, that the public activity generally fails, and it is in the supervision of charities, and their combination into a harmonious system, that all governments, and, in particular, our own, are apt to be defective. Hence arises mischief of two opposite kinds, yet often coexisting in the same locality. The poor are lavishly, and yet defectively

supplied with what they need, and their temporary condition of pauperism is allowed to become a permanent one. This is the great plague of England, and it is this which has brought her poor-laws into such disgrace with those two extremes of the literary class,—novelists and political economists. When Dickens, Ruskin and Mill unite in censuring them, it is fair to conclude that something must be wrong; and though, in this particular instance, there is much that needs to be corrected besides the system of supervision, it is very plain that this also must be defective, in spite of all its array of boards and commissions, inspectors, guardians and overseers. The same is true in the United States. While we are in little danger of speedily falling into the slough of pauperism, where England has been struggling for centuries, we are running the risk of a condition so far approximating to hers as our greater freedom and opportunity of self-support will allow. With labor in constant demand, land cheap, and every career open to every person, we have the three greatest securities against pauperism; but these alone are insufficient, as the experience of our great cities, the present winter, has abundantly shown. We need, moreover, the constant activity of judicious and far-reaching charity, public and private, and we cannot have this without vigilant supervision.

As a matter of fact, the expenditure of money for charities is already very large in the older Northern States, particularly in New York and Massachusetts. I cannot give you the amount for the great State of New York, but that will be accurately given, I doubt not, in the forthcoming report of Dr. Hoyt, the efficient Secretary of the New York Board of State Charities. Having held a corresponding position in Massachusetts from 1863 to 1868, I can present some facts in regard to that State, which may interest this Association.

The population of Massachusetts, by the census of 1865, was nearly one million three hundred thousand; it now considerably exceeds that, and in 1870 will probably have increased to nearly a million and a half. The amount of money expended last year by the public for the support and relief of the poor, the support of prisoners and the reformation of young offenders, was not less than one million six hundred thousand dollars, or

more than a dollar for each inhabitant. Of this amount, eight hundred thousand dollars, in round numbers, was expended by the three hundred and thirty-five towns and cities; about three hundred thousand dollars by the fourteen counties, and about half a million by the State itself. If to this is added the further sum of nine hundred thousand dollars, paid by the State in the form of aid to disabled soldiers and the families of those killed in the late war, we shall have an expenditure of two million five hundred thousand dollars in charitable ways under the direction of public officers. The annual amount of private charities, distributed by organized bodies within the State, including the churches, is quite one million five hundred thousand dollars more, giving a total of four million dollars expended in this way in one small State,—an average expense to each inhabitant of three dollars. This estimate is certainly below the actual expense.

If this proportion were maintained throughout the United States, with its population of forty millions, we should have a yearly budget of one hundred and twenty-five million dollars for the expenses of charitable and correctional institutions, public and private; or more than twice as much as the whole civil service of the country costs, and more than the whole expenses of the National Government were, ten years ago. But it is only in a few States that so much is expended in proportion to the population; in New York probably quite as much, and in Pennsylvania nearly as much. Allowing a reduction of one-half in the ratio of Massachusetts and New York, we shall find the aggregate expenditure of the country to be at least sixty million dollars in the directions of which I am speaking; and of this sum, probably forty million dollars is disbursed by public officers, either of the nation, the States, the counties, or the municipalities. Here, then, we have a yearly tax of a dollar a piece, in whose expenditure we ought to be doubly interested, both with regard to what we pay, and to what benefit the recipients derive from it.

Do these figures seem large? Then consider, if you please, that the single city of London is stated on good authority, to expend yearly from thirty million to forty million dollars in charity, among a population of three million. Mr. Thomas

Beggs, in a paper read before the British Social Science Association, not long since, even estimates the expenditure in London as high as forty-five million dollars, of which, he thinks, at least half is thrown away, for want of careful supervision under a good system. In this, very likely he exaggerates, but it is no exaggeration to say that there, and here, a tenth part of the whole sum laid out is annually wasted, and worse than wasted, for lack of wise management. That is to say, a thorough and efficient supervision of public charities in the United States would save us at least four million dollars a year. And, although there is reason to believe that the charitable funds of Massachusetts are expended less wastefully than those of most communities, I do not hesitate to say that of the two million five hundred thousand dollars which I have shown to be expended there for poor persons, prisoners, and the dependent classes generally, at least two hundred and fifty thousand could be annually saved and the beneficiaries be the better for it. I cannot speak for New York, but I dare say there are gentlemen here, familiar with the subject, who would make similar statements about your public charities, which, including your prisons, must occasion a net expenditure of some six or seven millions, annually.

It may be deemed singular that prisons should be included among charitable institutions; and it is true that they are often managed with very little infusion of Heavenly or of earthly charity. But the modern theory of prison discipline makes them purely charitable in their results, though penal and repressive in the means employed; for they are now treated, in law, if not in fact, as moral hospitals, where the vicious are to be reformed, and by which society is to be purified as well as protected. The seclusion of the convict is like that of the small-pox patient, — for his own good, no less than for that of the community. But there is another, and a sufficient reason for reckoning prisons among the apparatus of public charity, and it is this, — that convicts, almost without exception, belong to the dependent classes. Not to shock you with a violent paradox, for we do not generally look upon the burglar and the murderer in the same light as the beggar — let me explain what I mean, by a few illustrations.

The property valuation of Massachusetts, just published by my good friend Mr. Warner, the Secretary of State, is between twelve and thirteen hundred millions of dollars, (\$1,220,000,000,) which allows to each person, not actually supported or relieved by charity, an average property of about one thousand dollars. Now, in framing the questions to be answered by prisoners, five years ago, I inserted one to ascertain how many of them had ever come up to that normal standard of wealth in Massachusetts. Out of more than forty-seven thousand five hundred, of whom the question has since been asked, only about two thousand one hundred, or one in *twenty-four*, have been found who had ever owned property to the value of one thousand dollars. That is to say, ninety-five out of every one hundred persons committed to prison in Massachusetts, have never come up to the par value of a human being in that State—if we call that a thousand dollars. Moreover, we know, as a matter of fact that hundreds and thousands of our prisoners have been, or will become paupers, and our laws provide that, even in prison, they shall be supported from the poor rates, if their labor does not support them. As a third test, take this,—that, out of eleven thousand two hundred and thirty persons committed to county prisons in Massachusetts last year, three thousand six hundred and fifty, or a third part, could neither read nor write, in a community where the saying of Dogberry is eminently true,—that “to be a well favored man is the gift of fortune, but to write and read comes by nature.”

If, then, we may assume that the unfortunate and the vicious are to be classed together, as objects of Public Charity, we shall find that the classification has a practical value when we come to speak of the details of its supervision. In a great State like New York—an empire in itself—it may be expedient to provide, as your new Constitution does, and as your practice has been, that the prisons shall be under the oversight of one set of public officers—one Board—and the charitable institutions of the State under that of another Board, and that counties and cities and smaller municipalities shall have their own independent Boards. But in Massachusetts, and in most of our States, it is equally expedient that this division should not take place, and that all the interests of Public Charity and

correction should be guided by one system and one administration. I do not know that this has yet been done in any State, though we tend towards it in Massachusetts ; but a bill is now pending in the Rhode Island Legislature, which provides precisely this single-headed supervision. It will probably be adopted, and, if found to work well in that small State, will be copied elsewhere. Its main idea is borrowed from the Massachusetts system, which, however, has been simplified in the proposed measure. And since Massachusetts was the first State to adopt a general plan of supervision for its public charities and prisons, I may be pardoned for dwelling a few moments on the history and working of its Board of State Charities, with which, as already stated, I had the honor to be connected as Secretary, from October, 1863, to November, 1868.

As some of my hearers may be aware, Massachusetts differs from most of her sister States in having maintained, for nearly two centuries, a distinct class of State poor. For a hundred years before Concord fight, (which virtually made her a State,) the province of Massachusetts had paid from her public treasury for the support of poor persons not having a legal settlement in any town. This custom began about 1675, at the time of King Philip's war, when many families were driven from their homes by the Indians, and were supported in other towns, too poor to defray the whole cost of their maintenance. The Colony decided to assume their support, and thus laid the foundation for an expenditure which has at last reached the annual amount of some three hundred thousand dollars—the sum now paid to State paupers. It was the necessity of having some general control of this expenditure, more than a clear perception of the importance of regulating all public donations, that led to the suggestion of a State Board of Charities in 1858, and to its establishment in 1863. In this view of the matter, it may be called an accidental growth, rather than a piece of premeditated legislation. It was preceded for more than ten years, by a Board of Alien Commissioners, corresponding in many of their functions to the Commissioners of Emigration in the City of New York, whose work is so vast, so beneficial, and so well known. But besides the duties properly belonging to Emigrant Commissioners, the Massachusetts Alien Board exercised a partial

control over the establishment designed for the State's poor, and were brought frequently in contact with the thousand local officers, called Overseers of the Poor, who managed the charitable funds of the towns and cities. Thus the way was prepared for the new functionaries, whom Governor Andrew appointed in 1863, and one of their number was the former Chairman of the Alien Commission, whose powers were transferred, with additions, to the Board of Charities. To this gentleman, Henry B. Wheelwright, a great part of the success of the Board is justly to be ascribed.

Entering upon their duties in October, 1863, in the very midst of the war, the seven gentlemen who first served on the Board found plenty of work before them. There were three State Lunatic Hospitals, with an average population of one thousand one hundred patients; four Almshouses, (one of them styled a hospital,) containing nearly two thousand paupers of the State; three State reformatories, with more than six hundred pupils; a State Prison with four hundred convicts, and some twenty-five county and city prisons with one thousand four hundred more prisoners, all coming under their inspection and oversight. Besides these there were a Blind Asylum, a Deaf Mute School, an Idiot School, an Inebriate Asylum, and an Infirmary for diseases of the Eye and Ear, which they were expected to visit and report upon; and they were to receive returns concerning the towns' poor, from each of the three hundred and thirty-four cities and towns of Massachusetts, and gather what information could be had on that subject. They were also to examine all alien passengers landing in Boston, and make all transfers and removals of aliens and paupers that should seem necessary. They had under their supervision an average number of nearly six thousand inmates of public establishments; the number of alien passengers has proved from fourteen thousand to twenty-four thousand yearly; and the removals and transfers have been between two and three thousand yearly.

I have some hesitation, in speaking of what this Board has accomplished in the five years of its existence, lest I may seem to attach too much importance to events coming under my own notice; but there is no better way of illustrating the nature

and advantages of the supervision I am advocating, than by showing what it has actually accomplished in a single instance. If I exaggerate its results, I trust that our President, (Dr. Eliot,) and my esteemed friend, Dr. Wines, who are familiar with its history, will correct me. The first work of the Board was to collect and publish information concerning the establishments under its inspection; for, strange as it may appear to those not acquainted with the general lack of interest in this subject, there was nowhere in existence a concise and comprehensive description of these institutions, whose very objects were unknown to a majority of even the Legislature. Their reports were yearly printed, and some of these were of much value, and became widely known; but the authorities of an institution did not, in all cases, know its history and experiences, and few of them had any but the most general knowledge of the system under which they were acting. I except the medical superintendents of the lunatic hospitals, who, as a rule, are the most active and intelligent of all those connected with charitable institutions. I do not mean to censure any one in stating these facts, for they were the natural result of our want of system. It had been nobody's special business to place this information within reach of the public; each official had been fully occupied with his own work, which was exacting; and few had even felt the necessity of setting that work fairly forth for public inspection. When this had once been done, the natural relation of one establishment to another explained, and their relative value made clear, a great step had been taken towards the improvement of all. In the first two years, this was the most useful service rendered by the Board, apart from its practical labors in disposing of the cases of thousands who came before them for relief or removal. In these two years the forms of statistical returns were so improved that the essential facts of number, age, sex, cost, etc., of the dependent classes in Massachusetts were, for the first time collected and published with some degree of accuracy. Much yet remains to be done in that direction, but I am assured by persons of wide observation, that the Massachusetts statistics of this kind are more to be depended upon than any others in this country.

In the meantime the condition of the establishments had been steadily improved by making a better classification of the inmates, and increasing their facilities for education and employment. In the third year radical changes were introduced and established by legislative action. One of the four Almshouses was closed—the Sansford Hospital—and provision was made for the care of a portion of the sick without sending them away from their friends. Another Almshouse was converted into a workhouse for the dissolute and vagrant poor, and a third was mainly devoted to the education of the poor children, under the name of a State Primary School. By these changes the pauper system of the State became reasonably well adapted to the circumstances under which it exists. At the same time such changes were made in the law, as to provide for a gradual reduction of the number of the State's poor, by giving them a local settlement, or right to relief in some town or city; and so far have these changes gone, that whereas, five years ago the class, from which the State's poor are drawn,—the unsettled population—was fast increasing in number, it is now relatively diminishing. This has a double effect,—it allows the poor to be relieved with less separation and hardship, and it reduces the draw upon the State Treasury for their relief.

Without entering into further details, it may be said that, tried by the three tests of economy, humanity and efficiency, the present state of the public institutions of Massachusetts is good evidence of the excellent results of faithful supervision by a central Board, freed from the jealousies and partialities which are natural to the authorities of the several institutions. These jealousies are weaker than formerly, and while there was at first a marked distrust of the central Board, on the part of the Superintendents and Trustees of some of the establishments, there seems now to be entire confidence in its impartiality and good intention. The expenditures incident to the system have not, on the whole, increased during the five years, while the condition of the beneficiaries is decidedly improved. And so well satisfied are the people of other States with the Massachusetts plan of supervision, that it has already been adopted in New York and Ohio, each of which has a Board of State Charities, and is recommended for adoption by legislative

committees in Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and, I believe, other States.

In the three States, which have Boards of this character, the members of the Board serve without compensation, but receive their travelling expenses. In Massachusetts, however, a Secretary and a General Agent, both salaried officers, with several clerks, are appointed, and are *ex-officio* members of the Board. In New York there is a Secretary, elected by the Board, and I think the same is true of Ohio. While this plan of membership, without compensation, and without special powers, is well calculated for beginning such a work as these Boards have to do, I am inclined to believe it is not the best for permanent service. In the Massachusetts Boards of this kind—like those of Education and Agriculture—it is found that the salaried officers are apt to be the most active and influential, while those who devote but a small portion of their time to these duties, cannot perform them to their own satisfaction, even though the public may be satisfied. Moreover, special duties best fit men to be members of such a Board, because those duties lead each member to form and maintain an independent opinion, thereby strengthening the Board, and making it more useful; while the responsibility attaching to every salaried officer, who is held to account for his own department, is vastly better than the mixed responsibility of members, who can charge each other with the weight of deciding questions, and make it very difficult to fix blame or praise anywhere. This last-named peculiarity is the great defect of Boards, and has been used as an argument against them from the formation of the Federal Constitution, when we got rid of the Boards of War and Treasury that had made so much trouble under the confederation, down to the revision of the New York Constitution two years ago, when our associate, Mr. Gould, argued so strongly for a single head of the prison system. But, in spite of all arguments, Boards exist, and will exist, for they have advantages of counsel and influence, which may offset their weakness in executive work. A plan has occurred to me, by which, in the management and supervision of Public Charities, we may secure the maximum of individual efficiency, along with the maximum of coöperation and discretion, which a Board is supposed to furnish. It has already

been proposed in Massachusetts, and in due course of time may be acted upon there. With the necessary changes, to adapt it to smaller and larger States, it may be found serviceable elsewhere, and I will venture to state it.

Like most of the larger States, Massachusetts has a Board of Education, of which the working members are the Secretary and his Agent, — the latter not being technically a member of the Board. The Board of Charities has for its working members the Chairman, Secretary and General Agent, the other members of both Boards serving without compensation, and giving but a fraction of their time to this work. The nominal Chairman of the Board of Education is the Governor of the State. Now, as the duties of these two Boards, though wholly distinct at one extreme, blend and become identical at the other, it has been proposed to induce a certain coöperation between them by giving them the same Chairman, who should be salaried, and should give his time to their work. The other members of the Board of Education (all salaried) should be 1. the State Treasurer, who is now one of the Trustees of the School Fund, and who should retain that function under the direction of the Board; 2. the State Librarian, who, in addition to his other duties should be charged with the inspection and recommendation of school-books, and the suggestion of school libraries; 3. the Secretary, as at present; and 4. the General Agent, who should be added to the Board, of which he is now only virtually a member. These changes would be more nominal than real, with the exception of a new Chairman, to replace the Governor; for the Treasurer is already half a member, as Trustee, the State Librarian is Assistant Secretary, and the Agent acts in the same capacity. Our Board of Charities should consist of six members, besides the Chairman, whose services it would divide with the other Board. They should be, 1. an Inspector of Prisons, invested with power to visit and regulate the discipline of all the prisons in the State, from the lock-up to the State Prison, and to make transfers of convicts between prisons of the same grade; 2. an Inspector of Alms-houses, Hospitals and Reformatories, who should also act as Commissioner of Lunacy; 3. a Labor Commissioner, who should be charged with the inspection of factories, and the

supervision of the laws for the schooling of children employed in manufactories, and of those relating to hours of labor; 4. a Visiting Agent, who should look after the children placed in families from the public institutions, and find places for others; 5. a Secretary, as now, and 6. a General Agent, as now, to act as Emigrant Commissioner. These appointments also would do little more than make permanent and efficient what exists already in Massachusetts. We have no single Prison Inspector, but we have some four-score local inspectors, whose united expenses amount to nearly twice as much as it would cost to maintain one competent officer. We have no single Lunacy Commissioner, or Almshouse Inspector, but we have about fifty local Trustees and Inspectors, who cost the State more than three thousand dollars a year for their salary and expenses. We have no Labor Commissioner, but we have had two Labor Commissions since 1865, and for the past two years, a special State Constable detailed to look after the factory children. We have now a Visiting Agent, appointed by the Board of Charities and responsible to them. So that, in fact, the creation of these offices would involve scarcely any additional cost to the State, while it would secure a thorough administration of our system, which is not possible under the present arrangement. The plan also allows the continuance of the local Inspectors, but without compensation, and some revision of the duties of the two Secretaries. If it were desired to equalize the number of members in the two Boards, the Labor Commissioner might be made also a member of the Board of Education; and we should then have two Boards, of six members each, having two members in common.

I am not sure that this plan would not work well in New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio; at any rate, it could be extended to meet their exigencies. For States like Illinois, Indiana, Iowa and Missouri, it would require no change; for Maine, Connecticut, New Jersey and the smaller States, a smaller number of members would be required. The Board of Education might there be reduced to three,—a Chairman, Secretary and State Librarian; and the Board of Charities to three,—a Chairman, Secretary and Agent; giving five members only for both Boards. In Vermont, New Hampshire,

Rhode Island, and the newly admitted States, four members would be enough for both Boards—a common Chairman and Agent—and a special Secretary for each. This Chairman might be the Governor, and one of the Secretaries, the Secretary of State, as now is the case, I believe, in Rhode Island. Indeed, the details of the plan can easily be adapted to each State, if its general principles are once admitted.

These principles have been already stated or implied in this paper, but let me recapitulate and state them more directly.

1. Our large expenditure for charities, increasing with our population, and in large cities, far beyond that ratio, demands a systematic supervision, such as we give to our other great items of expenditure. The annual cost of Public Charities in Massachusetts is a seventh part of the whole cost of our State and municipal governments, and excluding the interest on our public debts, it is almost a fifth part. Of the ordinary expenses of the State government, exclusive of interest on the debt, and special provisions for its payment, nearly half—say one million four hundred thousand dollars—was last year paid for charities. This includes the mixture of pension and relief known as “State Aid” to soldiers and their families; but the charities, strictly speaking, amounted to more than half a million of dollars; while the other expenses, setting aside those coming from the debt and the war, were scarcely thrice as much. In ordinary times our State charities will demand a quarter part of the ordinary revenue.

2. This supervision will introduce order and economy, will promote humanity, will relieve the community of much imposture and outrage, and will also relieve public charity of much of the odium now attached to it. It is the abuse, not the execution of the theory of Public Charity, that has drawn down upon it the reproaches of fiction and of political economy. The abuses of private charity are quite as flagrant, only they are not brought to notice so constantly.

3. To secure a thorough supervision, it is necessary to have a few persons specially devoted to it, with adequate compensation, and the respect and encouragement of their fellow citizens to aid their efforts. Unpaid labor in this department is very useful, and gives a noble employment to persons of fortune or

independence, who have a talent for it. But it can never work to the best advantage in positions of permanence and control, because the strictest degree of responsibility does not attach to it.

4. These special Supervisors should have each his own work, and should also form a council for mutual aid and criticism. None would be so competent as they to criticise and hold each other up to the task imposed, for none would know so well what ought to be and what could be done. For this reason they should be combined into a Board.

5. The interests of charity and education are so closely identified—in this country at least—that there should be an actual coöperation between the public Supervisors of both.

6. To effect this, there should be Boards of Education and of Charity in every State, and these should be under the presidency of the same chairman, and, when feasible, should employ the same agencies.

I could wish, if there were time, to dwell on the advantages of harmony and coöperation between the several States, which would be greatly promoted by the establishment of such Boards as I have recommended. There is no real reason why, in these respects, all the States should not stand in the same relation to each other, that the counties and municipalities in each State now do. There need be no conflict, no over-reaching between State and State, as there is, too often, at present. The poor need not be pushed along from one State to another, unless, by so doing, they can be placed where the duty of relieving them properly belongs; nor need the mighty army of vagrants now moving over the face of the country, be entirely uninterrupted in their march. It ought not to be so difficult as it is now, to trace the perpetrators of crime from one jurisdiction to another, nor would it be, if in each State a central Board had the means of identifying old offenders and convicts discharged without reformation. In all these respects, the good of the whole country would be promoted by the formation and coöperation of such State Boards as I have proposed.

Of course, I need not say that there is no such necessary connection between the public supervision of education and the public supervision of charity and correction, as to require

the coöperation of the two Boards which have been suggested. Public Charities, of which I am speaking, do require, in my opinion, the sort of supervision proposed, and they will continue to demand it more and more, as they develop and extend their operations. But then, best administration also demands a supervision in detail, to which I can only briefly allude. It is common to compare the utility and efficiency of public with private charity, to the great disparagement of the former. But let us not be deceived by words and phrases. The money raised for charitable uses by taxation, may be as judiciously and humanely expended as that which is voluntarily given; and, on the other hand, the resources of private charity may be, and often are, as recklessly squandered, as foolishly misapplied, or as wickedly perverted as public funds can be. With both, what is needed is a minute, personal and conscientious devotion of individuals to their charitable work, whether as benefactors, as almoners for others, or as servants of the public. Every overseer of the poor, every visitor for a benevolent society, ought to feel that without a personal and scrupulous performance of their humane office, they become perverters of a most sacred trust. There is too much of this doing good by proxy, which is quite as often doing harm as good. True charity is twice blessed; that which is carelessly and perfunctorily administered has not the grace of a single blessing; it is given with a grudge and snatched with a curse.

A single word on the increase of pauperism. It is popularly believed, and often officially proclaimed, that in the United States this tremendous evil of pauperism, of which England furnishes us the saddest example, is rapidly increasing. In some localities, and under some circumstances, I doubt not this is true. But, where measures of prevention and relief are wisely taken, and a system of public or private charity is thoroughly and well administered, pauperism decreases in our country. In Massachusetts, for example, I am well satisfied, from the investigations of five years, that we have less pauperism in proportion to our numbers and our wealth than we had ten, twenty, or fifty years ago. It ought to be so everywhere in this noble country of ours; and to secure this result it only needs that we should apply to the treatment of pauperism the

same energy, good sense and good will, that every thorough American brings to the management of his daily affairs. This is what the Jews of London have done in their remarkable treatment of poverty among their own people ; this is what distinguishes the administration of Public Charity where it is best understood ; and this, with the blessing of Heaven, will free us from the Old World's legacy of pauperism, as completely as it has already freed us from the worse legacy of caste and slavery.

F. B. SANBORN.

A METHOD OF DIFFUSING USEFUL KNOWLEDGE.

A PAPER READ AT THE GENERAL MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATION AT ALBANY,
NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 19th, 1869.

I respectfully suggest a method of diffusing and popularizing important truth, whether moral or physical.

The most urgent public need of to-day is the careful preparation and cheap publication of a series of larger tracts, embodying all that is known beyond dispute in the domain of Natural, Intellectual and Moral Science.

These tracts should be concise, but comprehensive treatises on distinct topics of practical consequence, each covering from thirty-two to sixty-four pages, printed in large, fair type, on good, white paper, and sold at five to ten cents each.

Among the topics most urgently demanding treatment, I would suggest the following:

1. VENTILATION. — The tract on this subject should explain the nature of respiration, its organs, their uses and their perils: and should show how and why pure air, when inhaled, conduces to health, vigor, strength, activity, longevity; while impure air (duly defined) is necessarily injurious, usually perilous, and often fatal. Practical recommendations for improving the ventilation of all premises fit to be inhabited, and warnings against malarious regions, pestilent exhalations, noxious vapors, stifling bedrooms and poisonous holds, cabins, forecastles, cars, and other nurseries of fever and contagion, should conclude the tract.

2. SEXUAL MORALITY: what are its requirements and their sanctions, what its violations and their fearful penalties. This should be especially addressed to children and youth, and in time superseded by two or more addresses respectively to persons of different ages and sexes.

3. HABITATIONS: How to choose a fit location, and how to overcome or greatly modify the injurious effects of a bad one. The best plans for dwellings of the simplest and cheapest construction, should be given, with estimates of cost and suggestions

for drainage, light, air, prospect, etc., etc. The baneful effects of dampness, shade, sunken location, etc., should be carefully indicated.

I estimate that our people are building more than one hundred thousand dwellings per annum, at an annual cost of over one hundred millions of dollars; and that our deaths are at least one hundred thousand more per annum than they would be, if our habitations had been properly placed, constructed, ventilated, at no greater than their actual cost. A dime tract embodying the most that could be fitly suggested on this theme, would be generally bought by those about to build or rent habitations, and would save millions of dollars and thousands of lives per annum.

4. **HEALTH:** What it is, and what are its most formidable enemies; how it is to be preserved, and how (apart from medication) inherited, or contracted evils may be resisted and overcome or modified by cleanliness, temperance, exercise and fit surroundings.

5. **FOOD:** What is and what is not properly edible, and how the two classes are distinguished; the function of food; the laws governing its reception and use; the purposes of cooking, and the modes in which bad food and bad cookery impair the health and strength, damage the tempers and destroy the lives of our people.

But I need not pursue these illustrations, since five will serve as well as fifty. I do not suppose the range of topics demanding popular exposition and elucidation would ever be exhausted; but I would be in no hurry to diversify the themes discussed. If four new tracts were issued each year, it is quite likely that their aggregate value would exceed that of twenty issued in a like period.

Each tract should be prepared by the most competent and best qualified person who could be induced to undertake it — should make no pretensions to originality or novelty, but should be simply a condensed, methodized summary of all that is known and established on the subject beyond reasonable question. Brilliancy of style should not be regarded, though attractiveness to sober minds would add to the practical value of any treatise. When completed by the author, it should be

referred to a competent Committee for criticism and revision, but no change should be made but with the author's full assent. If he and the Committee cannot fully agree, let the publication be deferred till the truth shall be made manifest.

The ordinary machinery of Advertising Agents, Expresses, and Mails, would largely facilitate the distribution of these tracts, but the issuing society should have branches wherever they can be formed, each supplied with the tracts at cost, and intent on giving them the widest and most general circulation. Sets could and would ultimately be bound in a volume or volumes for preservation and future use.

I estimate that tracts of thirty-two large pages might be sold in large quantities at four cents and retailed at five cents each ; those at sixty-four pages at double these rates ; and that the number of copies bought and read would be counted by hundreds of thousands, provided the treatises were, as they should be, of the very highest merit.

I do not think any individual publisher, however spirited, could realize this idea. He would at once be exposed to competition and detraction, and would be tempted to issue too hastily and without thorough scrutiny by a competent Board. Besides, these tracts should be so issued as to preclude the idea of pecuniary advantage to the issuers. The Society should constantly correct any errors in one of its published tracts, which the progress of scientific research and discovery would suggest, and should be prepared to embody in future issues of its tracts already published, any new truth that may from time to time be discovered.

I do not suggest the publication of such a series to be within the proper scope of this Association. I do not ask the Association even to consider whether it may not be. I only improve this opportunity to urge that there ought to be a Society, even though one should have to be organized on purpose, to provide and diffuse such summaries for popular use of elementary Physical and Moral Truth, and that its existence and operations would surely and signally conduce to the diffusion of Knowledge, Virtue and Happiness — in other words, to the advancement of Social Science.

HORACE GREELEY.

THE PROTECTION OF THE BALLOT IN NATIONAL ELECTIONS.

A PAPER READ AT THE GENERAL MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATION, AT ALBANY,
NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 19th, 1869.

If the study of social problems teaches any one lesson more distinctly than another, it is that political virtue and political corruption are never the peculiar property of any particular party in the State. Only the partisan believes that all virtue is to be found in one organization, and all vice in another. The observer soon discovers that an almost imperceptible line separates, in these respects, contemporary political organizations, and that the charges made against one faction existing in the State, with slight changes of form and detail, may, with equal justice, be made against every other. Fraud in one party begets fraud in another, and corruption begets corruption, if only under the plausible argument that the devil must be fought with the weapons of darkness.

In dealing with a question which lies at the very basis of political life in America, this paper will make no pretence to profundity — no attempt will be made to lay down any elaborate system to secure purity to the ballot, — no partisan arguments will be advanced. Government, through representation and suffrage, as at present developed into a system, is but one way, and a very imperfect and unsatisfactory one, of arriving at a given result. The object of every political system is to bring the loftiest development of moral and intellectual education which any given community affords to the direction of its affairs. Just at present it is the fashion to consider an extension of the suffrage, — a more elaborate and careful enumeration of noses as it were, — as the grand and effectual panacea for all political evils. This idea will certainly last out the present, and probably several succeeding generations. Without at all conceding that this system is the best that can,

or, in process of time, will be devised, it is yet the system under which we and our children have perforce got to live, and the student of Social Science can devote himself to no better task than to the purifying and protecting of the system, however crude and unsatisfactory it at best may appear to him.

To us in America, it is not only the system under which we are to live, but we also must study it in its peculiar manifestations as working out its results through the machinery of certain systems of written constitutions, now long established. Certain practical difficulties and manifest evils are now making themselves felt in the operation of the suffrage through our machinery of Government, and with these the present paper proposes to deal. The question is a large and difficult one, and stands rather in need of suggestion and discussion, than of patent legislative panaceas or individual dogmatism.

An exciting and important national election has just been passed through, and the usual good fortune of the American people has presided over the result, in that it has not proved to be in result a disputed election. The popular verdict has been sufficiently decisive to cover any margin of fraud, on the one side or the other, and all parties concede that the new occupant will not be cheated into the Presidential Chair. This may not always be the case. The election was preceded by loud charges of wholesale fraud, made indiscriminately by each of the parties which divided the country, against the other,—the election day was marked by many scandalous incidents, which well might have vitiated the results in important localities, and, finally, it has been succeeded by a general desire that something should be done, resulting in the usual unlimited suggestions of crude legislation. Two things seem likely to result from the agitation now dying away,—first, an extension of the suffrage, and, secondly, a renewed discussion of the long vexed question of the naturalization laws.

Both are important questions ; in fact, without exaggeration, they might be spoken of as vital questions ; and both are deserving of a calmer and more philosophical discussion, and of a decision more exempt from party exigencies, than they seem likely to receive. Yet it may possibly be that the immediate evil which presses upon the country does not lie in either of

these directions ; it may well be found more on the surface, a mere matter of detail or of defective organic law. The first question necessarily is,— what is the difficulty ? That found, the remedy may not be far to seek. What is it that the popular instinct has been apprehensive of ? What dangerous elements have developed themselves, — what weak points in our system, which create this manifest uneasiness for the future, and the desire for change ? It probably would be generally conceded that the real trouble has been that the mass of the people of all parties has been apprehensive that the purity of the ballot was not sufficiently protected ; that somehow the election both could and would be carried by fraud ; that the will of the people was to be corruptly set aside through some perversion of the forms of law. If this brief statement of the case is accepted as correct, it only remains to consider the manner in which, and the machinery through which the election was held, and the result arrived at, and then to suggest, if possible, some remedy for the evil experienced.

One leading feature of the skilfully constructed Constitution of the United States, is a confessed and universally conceded failure. The machinery for the election of the President, through a system of Electoral Colleges, has never operated as the framers of the instrument supposed it would operate. From the outset it has proved a cumbersome and useless arrangement, practically set aside at the first election of the first President, the Colleges from that day to this have never done more than register the decision previously arrived at by direct popular action. This duty, and this only, do they perform. The most ardent admirer of our Constitution, the most bigoted opponent of innovation, can claim for them no other function. The simple question then is, how well do they perform this duty ? How accurately do they register the popular verdict ? A few figures, fresh in the memory of every one, will answer this question, and prove beyond a doubt, that the system has not only failed in its object, as contemplated by those who inserted it in our organic law, that it is not only cumbersome, clumsy and thoroughly useless,—that it not only does not correctly register the popular verdict, but that it does hold out more inducement to corruption, more opportunity for

fraud,—that it now creates more inequalities of influence, and threatens greater dangers to our system, than almost any other system which human ingenuity could have devised. This language is strong, but the figures must bear it out.

The successful candidate in the recent election received a majority of five per cent. in the popular vote. In the Colleges he received a majority of forty-four per cent. Such is the accuracy with which the result was registered. This is one side of the question; now turn to the other. Every one remembers the loud cry of fraud which preceded, accompanied and followed the election,—a cry raised and reiterated by both parties. Some of the vague charges advanced in those days of excitement, have been to a degree authenticated by subsequent legal and legislative investigations. In one locality the favorite method of violating the ballot seems to have been through a system of naturalization papers, founded upon perjury; in another, a simple process of walking from ballot-box to ballot-box and depositing multifarious votes, was resorted to; in a third, a wholesale system of emigration was organized. In New York City several scores of naturalized citizens were subsequently discovered to have been registered as residing at, and to have voted from single houses, which did not at the time contain a dozen occupants of both sexes and of all ages. In Indiana it was vehemently alleged that the voters of the adjoining counties of Kentucky, Illinois and Michigan emigrated *en masse* upon the election day to the polls of the sister State; those of Ohio were busy at home. In Philadelphia four individuals, imported for the occasion from New York, confessed in the subsequent investigations to having voted sixty times in a single day. In none of these localities do the registry laws seem to have afforded any protection to the ballot. In Indiana, indeed, none exist: but in Philadelphia and in New York, the registries were hardly less of a farce than that famous Border Ruffian registry in Kansas, before the war, which investigation discovered to be a verbatim copy of an old Cincinnati Directory. The immediate result of the outcry raised in consequence of these revelations was the introduction into Congress on the first day of the session of a number of bills, all looking to one end,—the amendment of the naturalization laws. The remedy

proposed was significant of present ideas on the subject of legislation. It is difficult to see how any amendment of the naturalization laws, however desirable in itself, could prevent the native born citizens of one State from flocking into another, or the citizens of New York from voting twenty times apiece in Pennsylvania, or certain polling districts in New York from casting more votes than they contained inhabitants.

Now, under our existing system of Presidential election, what is the significance of the votes cast in these localities? What weight do they carry with them? Are they simply single fraudulent votes? Or do they not rather, through the unnecessarily complex nature of our system, receive a mysterious and artificial importance? Throughout the recent canvas, the result of the election was felt to depend on the result in three States, and those States were New York, Pennsylvania and Indiana. There was the battle ground. Those States threw seventy-two electoral votes. Overwhelming popular majorities elsewhere might be conceded without affecting the result. While the three States mentioned were in doubt, the election was in doubt, and a majority of a single vote in each of those States might well make or unmake a President, regardless of the size of majorities elsewhere. Here indeed were both the inducement and the opportunity for fraud. Here indeed did the ballot-box stand in need of protection! To show how close the result in those States was, what a temptation to fraud existed, it is only necessary to say that there, where the battle was fought and the President was elected, while the majority for General Grant was but a little over one and one-half per cent. of the popular vote cast, the defeated party actually had, in the aggregate vote upon the State issues, a nearly equal majority the other way. In an aggregate vote of over one million eight hundred thousand, one party had a majority on the National issues of twenty-eight thousand four hundred and sixty, and the other party a majority on the State issues of seventeen thousand three hundred and eight. Such was the condition of affairs where the issue was decided. How was it elsewhere? New York casts thirty-three Electoral votes, exactly the same number as are cast, in the aggregate, by the three States of Illinois, Massachusetts and Vermont. The ten

thousand majority in New York exercised precisely the same degree of legal influence on the result in the Electoral Colleges as did the one hundred and sixty thousand majority cast in the other scale by the three States mentioned. The result showed that one vote in New York outweighed sixteen votes elsewhere, and, if the purity of the ballot-box was to be violated, New York presented the best field for operations. Again, New York and Pennsylvania together threw fifty-nine Electoral votes, just the number thrown by Illinois, Massachusetts, Michigan, Maine, Wisconsin and Iowa combined; the six States last named, gave General Grant two hundred and fifty thousand popular majority. Yet a change of ten thousand votes by accident or design in New York and Pennsylvania, would have negated the two hundred and fifty thousand, and made them, so far as the Presidential election was concerned, of no more value than six votes.

Again, California now has five voices in the Electoral vote, so also has Vermont. These two States gave General Grant thirty-two thousand six hundred and thirty-six popular majority and their ten Electoral votes. A change of two hundred and sixty votes in one of those States would have divided their Electoral votes between the two candidates. The vast popular majority would have gone for nothing. Six hundred manufactured votes in California, a single fight at the polls and one energetic effort by some daring ballot stuffer, would have had the same influence on the great result as the thirty thousand votes cast in Vermont.

Take another instance, not of what might have been, but of what *did* occur. Oregon and Kansas both throw three Electoral votes. A majority of just one hundred and sixty-four votes in Oregon exactly offset in the Electoral College a majority of seventeen thousand and thirty votes in Kansas. Knowing voters to be corruptible, politicians, no less astute than unscrupulous, might doubtless have manufactured, imported or bought a few hundred votes in Oregon. One fraudulent vote there, as affecting the result under the present system, outweighed one hundred honest votes in Kansas, where it was not worth while to cheat.

A single instance more. Oregon and California together have eight electoral votes, the same number as Iowa. Iowa gave General Grant forty-six thousand popular majority. A change by accident or design in one place of two hundred and eight votes, — an informality in a return, — an error in arithmetic — the mistake of a country printer — anything from the chapter of accidents or from the devices of cheatery, would practically have negatived forty-six thousand votes in another place. A single ballot manufactured by one party on the coast of the Pacific, could be made to counterbalance one hundred and eighty votes belonging to the other party on the banks of the Mississippi.

It is useless to further enumerate particular instances. If those already given do not convince, none will. It may, however, be added that a change of less than thirty thousand votes in seven States in the recent election would have made Governor Seymour the legally elected occupant of the Presidential Chair, while his opponent would still have received a popular majority of two hundred and eighty thousand votes in the whole country. Neither has this election been peculiar in these respects. In 1864, the majority of the dominant party in New York was less than one per cent. of the popular vote. A change of three thousand four hundred votes, through any of those means so well understood by politicians, — means better understood now than they were then, — such a change would exactly have negatived in the electoral vote one hundred and forty thousand majority in three other States. Again, — in 1844, the election was actually decided by the vote of New York. That vote elected Mr. Polk, as it well might have elected Mr. Clay. Had Mr. Clay not indulged in letter-writing, — had he not alarmed a few hundred Liberty-party men in Western New York into voting for Mr. Birney, he would have been elected President by a majority of the electoral votes, with a popular majority of over thirty thousand in favor of Mr. Polk.

Under the existing system, therefore, a premium is placed upon fraud. The violation of the ballot-box by one party, makes its violation by the other what is called, in the parlance of the day, a political necessity. This, indeed, is the saddest and most alarming feature of the whole system. The com-

munity not only becomes accustomed to political fraud, but it learns to excuse it as in some way a necessity. We are losing the moral sense, and censure failure alone. While the moral perceptions thus become blunted, the opportunity for fraud is more and more, in each successive election, localized and designated. The least astute politician knows just where votes are necessary and just where they are useless. The more astute know also just *how many* are wanted and how they are to be had, as well as *where* they are wanted. Fraud, — energetic, well-directed fraud, will probably soon decide every closely contested Presidential election, unless the system of Electoral Colleges is reformed out of existence.

The surest way of preventing crime is to remove the inducement to it. The most effective protection to the ballot will be found to lie in making frauds upon it, as far as may be, unavailing. As has been pointed out, the present system both provides the machinery through which the frauds may be made peculiarly effective, and, at the same time, designates the localities where they can best be attempted. The removal of the system of Electoral Colleges would not indeed go to the root of the evil, but it would at once deprive it of its greatest inducement and best opportunity. The fraudulent vote now has a vast fictitious value. It will continue to have it until a fraudulent vote can in no case have a greater weight than an honest one. It is claimed that in New York City twenty-five thousand illegal votes were cast in the recent election. The Report of the Investigating Committee has not yet been published, and the statement is now merely advanced for what it may be worth. If such was the case, however, those who manipulated that vote simply made assurance doubly sure, — fifteen thousand and one would have done just as well. It now remains to be seen how long the voters of Illinois, Ohio, and Massachusetts, — rolling up useless majorities by scores of thousands, — will stand with folded arms and calmly watch the workings of a system under which one vote in the sixth ward of New York may well outweigh fifty votes within their own borders. It may be impossible, as it certainly is very difficult, to prevent all fraud at the polls, or fully to protect the purity of the ballot, — it is not necessary,

however, to perpetuate a system which cannot but ultimately reduce fraud to a science. A vote, be it fraudulent or be it honest, need still be but one vote. Ten illegal votes in one precinct need not of necessity outweigh more than ten legal votes in another, and not, perhaps, eighteen hundred as at present. This holding out temptation to fraud is surely superfluous. If the system of Electoral Colleges possessed any secondary or incidental advantages, it might yet find intelligent supporters. It can claim none. It affords only alarming occasion for trouble, for it seems invented to encourage the formation of third parties and the defeat of elections. What greater imaginable strain could be imposed upon our system of government than an election of the Chief Magistrate by a body which now cannot even count an undisputed electoral vote without disgracing itself and the country by unseemly broils. Twice in our history have elections gone into the House of Representatives. One almost resulted in placing Aaron Burr in the Presidential Chair; the other did result in the election of the candidate of a distinct minority.

To remedy the manifest dangers of the system, a Senator has recently proposed that the electors should be chosen like members of Congress, by districts, instead of on a general ticket as at present. This would partially reform that which rather calls for reformation altogether. Small majorities in some districts would still counterbalance large ones in others. The evil would be mitigated, not removed. Practically, the people of this country certainly will vote directly for their candidates for the Presidency. Why should they ever compel themselves by indirections to make directions out? In this case there is no check to be preserved, no balance of power to be guarded. What good reason can be given why we should vote for one man, or thirty men, who in turn are to be pledged to vote for another man, designated to them beforehand, instead of voting directly for the object of our choice? Why must that needs be made complicated which can better be kept simple? Can any good reason be suggested why the people of this country should not directly vote for their Presidents, as they ever have for their Governors? By so doing they would avoid the whole danger of Congressional Elections. The popular

votes of each State could be returned to the President for the time being, or to the Chief Justice, from the State Magistrates, or from the United States Courts; and the officer to whom they were returned would have nothing to do but to go through a simple sum in addition and subtraction,—a sum which every newspaper in the land would already have done for him, and then, in the form prescribed by law, issue his proclamation announcing the result. The Legislative need then have no voice in the election of the Executive any more than it now has in the election of Governors of the States,—it could not even wrangle over the counting of the votes.

It may, however, be objected that such a system would tend to silence the voice of minorities in Presidential elections. This objection, if made, admits of a conclusive answer. Minorities can have, and should have, no voice in the organization of the Executive. This sound principle of political science the framers of the Constitution seem to have lost sight of when they incorporated into it the system of Electoral Colleges. They then devised a machinery which has ever stimulated the formation of factions in the choice of Electors,—which has ever tended to give an undue prominence to minorities in years of Presidential election. The Executive must be responsible, and responsibility ceases when it is divided. The principle of representation of minorities is as dangerous and out of place in the organization of an Executive, as it is useful and essential to the Legislative. In both respects our system is crude in the extreme. A local faction, which can control the electoral vote of a single State, may at any time, perhaps, defeat the popular choice in a Presidential election, and carry the country far towards anarchy; while, on the other hand, we have now for years seen a party, controlling a majority never exceeding ten per cent. of the popular vote, metamorphosed into a Legislative majority of fifty per cent. and completely overriding the minority in the halls of Legislature. If the minority is admitted to a share of the Executive power, the Government will fall into an anarchy; if, on the other hand, the minority be excluded from the Legislature, then the Government will fall into that worst of all tyrannies, the unbridled tyranny of a popular majority. Our present system tends in its operation, though

not decisively, to both the one and the other of these evils. This subject, however, while the works of Hare and Mill have left nothing that is new to be said in regard to it, is not germane to the present discussion, and is very comprehensive. It is referred to here simply as an objection which might be advanced, but which is founded on a fallacy. The laws of political science which apply to the organization of a good Legislative, in no way apply to the organization of an effective Executive. Experience has everywhere shown that the election of an Executive by a direct, popular, plurality vote has tended, as indeed in the nature of things it must tend, to that healthy concentration of popular action, which, by making minorities useless prevents their formation, and removes in this way the greatest danger of popular institutions, which always must be found in indecisive elections. Any decision is better than no decision, where an undivided decision must be had,—just as any government, even the worst, is better than anarchy.

Hitherto the discussion has looked solely to the removal from our system of the great fictitious incentive to fraud at the polls,—that which unconsciously makes the whole community approach this question with an instinctive sense of its importance. It now remains to say a few words of the fraud itself, as we see and feel it, and to consider if anything can be done to insure to the ballot exemption from it.

As population increases,—both as voters are spread over a greater territorial area, and are more crowded within certain centres of population—as the community in fact develops itself into the higher phases of civilization,—in the same degree does the tendency to corruption of the ballot increase. The average wealth of the community increases very slowly, but property always tends to accumulate in few hands, and population at great centres. As a result, both wealth and poverty, as well as education and ignorance are found in their most marked degrees at the centres of highest civilization. In an early and relatively undeveloped condition of society, such as we even yet retain in this country as compared with the inevitable future, the protection of the ballot is comparatively a simple and easy matter. We have no proletariat yet, outside of the City of New York, and fraud

has only begun to be reduced to a system, and has in no degree been elevated into a science. As society develops itself, and wealth, population and ignorance increase,—as the struggle for existence becomes more and more severe, the inherent difficulties of a broadly extended suffrage will make themselves felt. Starving men and women care very little for abstract questions of the general good. Political power becomes one means simply of private subsistence. In any case there are, however, but two ways of perverting the expression of the popular will,—one by the corruption of the individual voter, the other by the falsification of votes. The first of these methods is easily disposed of. It is useless and almost silly to try to prevent bribery and corruption by law. There is, in fact, no sound distinction between the citizen who sells his vote for cash, and the citizen who makes his political course subserve his personal ambition, or lends himself to some demagogue who bribes by an agrarian law. Each subordinates public good to private interest. Every phase of this evil lies beyond the reach of penal law, in the large field of moral education: for, when the citizen is corrupt enough to sell his vote, you cannot effectively prescribe by law that he may sell it for office, but may not for money. No real protection to the ballot lies in that direction.

Though the law, however, cannot well prevent a man from selling his own single vote, and no penalty can reach him who does, the law can prevent a man from multiplying ballots at his own will, and selling himself for a day's steady voting, from early dawn to dewy eve, unlimited by any eight-hour law, and for every recurring election. Men cannot by law be made to respect their own rights, but they can be made not to violate those of other people. In this point of view again, the suffrage question is a national one. Under the present system, a single fraudulent vote in New York or Philadelphia is of infinitely greater public interest than a score of such votes in Boston or Chicago. Yet the control of the citizen over this question, upon which more than upon any other, his rights as a citizen depend, is limited to his own immediate neighborhood, and just beyond that neighborhood, within his sight almost, he is conscious that he is defrauded to an unlimited extent, and yet

has no power for reform. Such a condition of affairs is not a healthy one. It is one thing as regards local and State, and another as regards National elections. If certain local communities are willing to live under a lax and unregulated system of suffrage, if they do not object to seeing the franchise rendered valueless by fraud within their own limits, of course they have a right to gratify their inclinations; but they have not a right to extend that system beyond their own limits to the grave prejudice of their neighbors.

The only real protection of the purity of the ballot, under an extended system of suffrage, must, of necessity, be found in some arrangement for the careful registration of voters. All other systems of protection, such as the challenge based upon personal knowledge, and the like, are adapted only for rude and primitive communities. It is useless to object to the trouble and annoyance which a strict system of registration imposes upon the busy citizen; without that trouble and annoyance, the election day becomes a fraud and a farce, and it is that trouble and annoyance, and that only, which confers its whole value on the individual vote. Where then the whole National significance of a vote in Portland may well depend upon the degree of protection thrown over the ballot in San Francisco,—while a single lawless ruffian in the latter place can by a system of repeating, negative the votes of forty law-abiding citizens in the former, or, by a system of ballot stuffing, negative a thousand—it becomes a question of ever growing importance, how far the regulation of the ballot in National elections should be made a subject of National legislation. In this matter, one law should not obtain at Athens and another at Corinth. Local and State elections, recurring frequently and affecting only local rights and questions, may safely be left to local laws. National elections, recurring at most but once in two years, and more especially enlisting popular and sectional passions, stand in need of uniform regulation. In view of our vastly increasing emigration, and of the direct bearing of the naturalization laws upon every National election, it may become a serious question whether the United States will not ultimately be obliged to take the whole management of National elections into the

hands of National officers. One uniform law and day for such elections, once in two years, conducted by officers of the United States for the time being, under a well digested system of registration, and with an effective law for the detection and punishment of fraud, would, while in itself open to grave objections, yet strike at the root of many of the most crying evils of the present system.

The usual limitations sought to be imposed upon the right of suffrage, — such as qualifications from property, education, sex, race, creed or age — have not yet been referred to. They belong, in fact, to another branch of the discussion. Corruption and ignorance are the two ever present evils which threaten and destroy free institutions. The two, however, are not to be confounded, for the precautions and remedies their existence calls for, are as distinct as are the characteristics of fraud and stupidity. While corruption destroys the purity of the ballot, ignorance affects only its significance. Just at present the question of significance is to us of secondary importance. The great need of the present is purity. It is useless to discuss measures by which a higher intelligence, loftier motives and a calmer reason may be secured to such as hold the ballot, unless its due weight and influence is given to the ballot. When every election may be turned into a farce, those who could infuse intelligence into that election will not probably care to number themselves among the performers.

Purity once secured, however, significance becomes the next requisite. In discussing systems of government founded on popular consent, two principles may so invariably be deduced from experience, and are in such complete accordance with the dictates of reason, that they may be stated as axioms. The first is, that the existence of the principle of caste; the second, that the control of a political proletariat, are each absolutely inconsistent with the spirit and permanence of free institutions. While the existence of caste is manifestly inconsistent with any theory of human equality, the essence of a proletariat is to seek the political control of a community through a close combination of vice, ignorance and brute force, wholly inaccessible to reason or to the dictates of public virtue. A

Government, therefore, which pretends to rest on the consent of the governed, should recognize no principle which opposes to any human being an insuperable barrier to the possession of the suffrage; neither should it admit to the suffrage those elements of ignorance and fraud, which, as civilization advances, always tend to consolidate into a political proletariat. If these principles are correct, and kept steadily in view, they can hardly fail greatly to simplify the consideration of those usual limitations of the suffrage just referred to.

For the first time in the history of mankind, America seems now approaching a practical trial of universal suffrage. It is not manhood suffrage, as at present; nor white suffrage, as formerly; nor impartial suffrage, as sometimes proposed; nor educational suffrage;—but universal suffrage in the largest sense of the term. All signs point that way. One day we hear of a Womans Rights Convention, and some Legislature barely fails to concede the principle of female suffrage; the next day some Senator proposes the total repeal of the naturalization laws, while the adopted citizen demands that he shall no longer be legally excluded from the chair of Washington. It is then proposed to extend the ballot to children, as it has already been given to freedmen. Presently impartial suffrage is suggested, and party organs at once declare it to be a dogma of American faith, that the ballot is the *inherent* right of all *white* men, “be they rich or poor, learned or unlearned.” Finally the Senate of the United States, that body to which all the political wisdom of the country is supposed to gravitate, has recently, after long discussion, proposed to submit to the Legislatures an amendment to the Constitution, prohibiting all discrimination for the future among the citizens of the United States, in the right to hold office or in the exercise of the elective franchise, because “of race, color, nativity, property, education or creed.” Had the single word “sex” but been included in this amendment, the bars would have been wholly thrown down, and the experiment of universal suffrage, incorporated into the organic law, would have been tried in its full simplicity.

It may well be questioned whether the American people fully appreciate the logical conclusions of the present tendency to make the suffrage a free gift to all comers. The new

experiment will indeed eradicate the last vestige of caste from our institutions, and in so far is consistent with reason and experience. The future has nothing to fear from that quarter. In avoiding one danger, however, there is no absolute necessity of running into another. Caste will have been eradicated at a fearful price, if the elements leading directly to a proletariat are introduced in its place. Now universal suffrage necessarily introduces three new and untried influences into the action of the body politic. Of these the female is the first; for, though in order of time she must be enfranchised after the African and the alien, yet only those who believe in that strange political science which is evolved from party exigencies, can bow to a logic, which, while pretending to eradicate caste, refuses to grant to the Anglo-Saxon female what has been thrust on the African male. Opinions differ more as to the expediency of female suffrage than as to its logic. Experience has seemed to indicate that a certain vigorous, masculine, common-sense and self-control,—a faculty of restraint under excitement—a certain persistence and belief in the wisdom of biding his time, which characteristics have hitherto more especially developed themselves in the Anglo-Saxon race, have everywhere proved the only real safe-guards of popular liberty. Excitable natures rarely strengthen free institutions. How far a large infusion of the more voluble, demonstrative and impulsive female element into the arena of politics will tend to affect what little of calmness and reason is still found therein, remains to be seen. The white female, however, is at least of the same blood and education as the white male. This cannot be said of the African, the second of the untried influences now to be introduced. Whatever may be his latent faculty of development, however high he now should or ultimately may stand in the scale of created beings, it is safe to say that the sudden and indiscriminate elevation of his whole race to the ballot is a portentous experiment. The Anglo-Saxon was not educated to his efforts at self-government, at best but partially successful, by two centuries of Slavery superimposed on unnumbered centuries of barbarism.

The third influence about to be infused by wholesale into our system, is that of the aliens. Of the workings and tendency of

this influence we have already enjoyed some experience. We now appreciate to a degree how much the purity and the significance of the suffrage have deteriorated with us through the irruption of those swarms of foreigners, who have within forty years landed on our shores. While the experience of the past throws some light on the future in this respect, it, in all probability, very inadequately foreshadows it. We have as yet witnessed only the day of small things in the way of emigration. Take the Irish exodus as an example. It has been no easy thing for us to deplete the Celtic race from one small island, and to absorb it into our body politic: still it has been done, and has resulted only in deterioration, not in catastrophe. But how is it for the future, as regards China and the East? Ireland contained a population but of a few millions, and its whole surplus could drain off in a single generation. The population of the farthest East swarms by the hundreds of millions, and presses continually on the extreme limits of subsistence. For unknown centuries, the great dikes of Oriental law and custom have stood high and strong, retaining that unknown flood of humanity within native bounds. Behind those walls, the level of population has risen higher and higher, and has pressed against them more and more severely, but, as yet, they have scarcely begun to yield. For nearly half a century the whole civilized world has been working at those barriers, and undermining them; we want to let trade in, and, in doing so, we are going to let population out. Within the last few years the barriers have begun to yield; within the next half century they will be wholly destroyed, and this vast reservoir of humanity, — semi-civilized, ignorant, Asiatic in blood, manners and morals — will come flooding over the earth. To deplete China of its surplus population is a simple impossibility. The stream of emigration once set in, can only increase, it can never run dry. Neither is this emigration, already firmly established, Christian, or in any way akin to us, or in any sympathy with us, or intellectually approachable by us. It speaks an unknown tongue, and has strange manners and customs; it does not change or assimilate. To it, subject to the naturalization laws, the amendment to the Constitution now pending before the State Legislatures, guarantees the

suffrage. This emigration is now welcomed by the philosophers of the school of material progress as likely to furnish an inexhaustible supply of cheap labor. The same thinkers would doubtless organize an emigration from Sodom and the cities of the plain, could the inhabitants of those industrious communities but import an inexhaustible supply of cheap brimstone with their vices, and dig upon our railways when not corrupting our morals. If, however, Social Science has one lesson to teach more emphatically than any other, it is that the accumulation of wealth is not the loftiest end of human effort.*

Working upon such a mass as must result from the blending of all these incongruous elements, Universal Suffrage can only mean in plain English the government of ignorance and vice:—

* The apprehensions here expressed, may to many appear excessive. This opinion, however, will not probably be entertained by the dwellers on the Pacific slope. A century, be it remembered, will be but as a day in the history of races on this continent. The Chinese emigration is of ten years date, and already counts fifty thousand living beings. Up to within a short time, it has been confined to males and contained no principle of increase within itself, but this is no longer the case. This paper was read at Albany on the 18th of February; on the 24th the following telegram was published in the papers: "San Francisco, February 23. Some of the Chinese of this city are reported to be armed for a struggle to secure possession of the females who arrived from China on the steamer to-day. The Chief of Police has taken measures to prevent a riot. The Chinese companies are anxious to prevent immoral immigration, but have lately been foiled." It was followed on the 25th by another: "San Francisco, February 24. About four hundred Chinese women arrived by the steamship China. They were taken from the ship under a guard of police to the places designated by the head men. An effort was made to seize some of them, and some of the rival parties were wounded. The police prevented a general fight. Great excitement exists in the Chinese quarters of the city, and several arrests have been made." A flood of light is thrown on this transaction, and upon the general beauties and elevating tendencies of the new emigration, by the following extract from the *San Francisco Bulletin*. These too, be it remembered, are the early developments of the system; the leaf is very far from dry: "The scheme by which the system of importing Chinawomen is carried on, is an exceedingly complicated one. Some time since the six Chinese Companies of San Francisco combined for the avowed purpose of preventing the importation of Chinese girls and women for the purpose of prostitution. The managers were shrewd. They knew the value of a moral support, and set about to secure it. The plan on which they were to work, was published, and the police authorities were enlisted to assist them in carrying it out. On the surface it all seemed right; it appeared to be a very commendable and effective plan for getting rid of or checking a monstrous evil.

"In reality however, it is nothing less than a cunningly devised scheme to effect precisely what was pretended to be opposed. Cargo after cargo of females, mostly young, came over. Some of them had relatives here, and reached them, but the

it means a Européan, and especially Celtic, proletariat on the Atlantic coast; an African proletariat on the shores of the Gulf, and a Chinese proletariat on the Pacific. One only of these has developed itself as yet and acquired firm political power,—the Celtic proletariat has possessed itself of the New York City Government and will soon be in control of that of the State;—those who wish to study the early development of the system will find ample food for reflection in the daily columns of the New York press. Those who choose may then strive to extend it.

If then the proletariat, — the organization of ignorance and vice to obtain political control, — is destructive both to the purity and significance of the ballot; — if Universal Suffrage inevitably tends with an advancing civilization to bring about

rest were 'consigned' to certain parties here, who had bought them in China, while others were sold here to any one who would pay the required price. An average consignment was worth to the Chinese from four thousand to five thousand dollars. From the lot a few would be selected and sent back to China, to show the Americans that the plan was a highly moral one and deserved their support. But dissensions and jealousies arose, and the writ of habeas corpus was invoked. The decision of the Fourth District Court exploded the entire system, and reduced the traffickers in women to the necessity of prosecuting their business by the old methods, which, still illegal as the other, had not the outward appearance of a moral movement in aid of Christianity and general social virtue.

"The original plan was to kidnap, and that plan is now being acted upon with bloody consequences. The shrewd conductors are enabled to use and abuse the processes of law for their nefarious purposes; and when these fail, they do not hesitate to resort to murder. Whatever crowd or combination of Chinamen get possession of the women who are being brought here monthly in such large numbers, makes no difference. They are all alike anxious to realize the profits of their sale, and they are large. So lucrative is the business, notwithstanding the little drawbacks of conspiracy and assassination which are encountered, the chiefs are enabled to hire white men to go to the steamers and assist them, paying them from twenty to one hundred dollars for their services.

"Some time since one Chinaman established himself in China for the purpose of shipping women like cattle to this port. His name was Kum Cook. The branch house here encountered obstacles. At the present time it appears that a man named Ah Fook enjoys a monopoly of the traffic, and by shrewd means, on the arrival of the last steamer, he procured the aid of the officers of the law to get and keep possession of his large consignment of females. He first caused it to be whispered in the ears of Captain Crowley that certain parties were going to the steamer's deck, and would fight for the possession of the women, unless a posse were sent down. They were arming, and there was great danger of a riot. The facts proved that a riot was threatened, and it was only by chance it did not occur. However, men were stationed at the gates, and a Chinaman, in order to get through to the steamer must have the Mail Company's pass, with the mark of Ah Fook, 'C. A.' on it. Some who did not have that endorsement, were turned

such a vicious combination, then no one who believes in a Social Science as applied to the study of permanence in free institutions, can place any faith in that form of suffrage. The tendency of the day is clearly in a wrong direction.

A protest unaccompanied by a suggestion scarcely deserves a hearing. Laboring as each of us should and as this organization should, according to our lights;—seeking to affect as we may those present influences which are to control the whole future of our race and our continent, what have we to offer in place of that which we reject? In the first place, justice is to be done. The suffrage must be impartial and we must recognize no insuperable barrier to its possession. Race, color, creed and sex must then at once be excluded from the list of possible

back. The result was that the three hundred and ninety-six China women were hauled off the dock in baggage-wagons, like so many calves, and taken to the various alleys designated by the head importer. To prevent a successful combination of his rivals, he divided the cargo into three parts, and they were discharged simultaneously at places pointed out by his agents.

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“This is the last development in the case; but the people may rest assured of one thing—the evil described is making rapid progress, and calls for some extraordinary measures for its suppression. It will not do for the local authorities to become indirectly and innocently participants in the horrible traffic. We fail to see why the Chinamen who obtained the three hundred and ninety-six woman last sent, had any legal or moral right to their custody, or why only his friends were admitted through the gates on that particular business.

“One man was engaged by a Chinaman to go to the last steamer from China and procure him a female. The man is a lawyer, and the Chinaman agreed to give him one hundred dollars for the job. We are not informed whether he succeeded. Still another attorney was offered the same price for a similar purpose, and we know of half a dozen or more other Caucasians who are of so much importance in the estimation of Chinamen, and of so little in their own, that they have received or been offered pay to assist in the work of properly distributing Celestial females to the ‘consignees.’”

Such is the Asiatic emigration, and such are the progenitors of one large element of our future population. By it the rapid construction of our railroads may be hastened, and our material wealth will be developed; but the contact with such a race will brutalize the inhabitants of the Pacific States more than the contact with the harmless African ever brutalized the South; and what can such a race add to our political stability or moral or intellectual growth? An inexhaustible supply of such labor may prove dear at any price, and even railroads may be purchased for more than they are worth, even though paid for only in manners and morals.

Non tali auxilio nec defensoribus istis
Tempus eget.

tests. They are all tinged with the injustice of caste. Property is not only a test unworthy in itself, but, in this country, where poverty is a vulgar virtue, and where the great General and the large-hearted President are masqueraded in public in the more popular characters of an insolvent tanner and an illiterate rail-splitter, such a test is impossible. Education then only remains. A knowledge of the language of our laws and the faculty of informing oneself without aid of their provisions, would in itself constitute a test, if rigorously enforced, incompatible with the existence of a proletariat. Our efforts should be devoted to the practical development of these two principles of intelligence and impartiality in the suffrage, and of the kindred theory of the just representation of minorities. In the ideal Government, founded on the popular consent, every voice will be audible through a system of perfect representation. No barrier to a purified suffrage will be recognized which cannot be surmounted by the moderate efforts of average humanity, and the highest privilege of the citizen, at once a right and a reward, will be given or refused on principles of even justice and stern regard for the common good.

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, JR.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

A NEW draft of a bill "To regulate the Civil Service of the United States" was laid before the House of Representatives on the 5th of April last by its author, Mr. Jenckes of Rhode Island.

It applies to "all appointments of civil officers in the several departments of the service of the United States, except postmasters and such officers as are by law required to be appointed by the President, by and with the advice of the Senate." (Sec. 1.) A subsequent section includes within the operation of the bill "any officer in the civil service of the United States at the date of the passage of this act other than those excepted in the first section." (Sec. 10.) Farther on, it is provided "that the President and also the Senate, may require any person applying for or recommended for any office which requires confirmation by the Senate, to be examined as to his qualifications, either before or after being commissioned." (Sec. 13.)

The chief feature of the system, intended to apply to the officers thus designated, is a "Board of four Commissioners, to be appointed by the President, by and with the advice of the Senate, who shall hold their offices for the term of five years, to be called the Civil Service Examination Board," whose most important duties are to prescribe the qualifications and to provide for the examination and probation of candidates for office. (Sec. 2.) The examination being passed, a period of probation, during which the tenure of office is conditional, is determined by the Board. This probation being passed, it is ordered that "the applicants who stand highest in order of merit" shall have "the preference in appointment." A vacancy may be filled "by the senior in the next lower grade," or "by the successful competitor under a new examination for that particular vacancy." Seniority is described as depending on the rank obtained at examination, "having regard also to seniority in the service." It is expressly stated that "promotions may

be made on account of merit, irrespective of seniority in service, such merit to be ascertained by special examinations." (See. 3.) In conducting their examinations, the Board are authorized to call to their assistance "such men of learning and high character, as they may think fit, or, in their discretion, such officers in the civil, military, or naval service of the United States, as may be designated from time to time, on application of the Board." (See. 6.)

It is also provided that the Board shall have power to prescribe "for the removal or suspension of all officers, who come within the provisions of this act, and also to establish rules for the manner of preferring charges for misconduct or inefficiency, and for the trial of the accused, and for determining his position pending such trial." (See. 5.) The power of the President to revoke an appointment is recognized; but, upon such revocation, the officer removed is entitled to a trial upon his demand. (See. 8.)

The only other provision of primary importance in the bill is "that all citizens of the United States shall be eligible to examination and appointment." (See. 12.)

Such is the substance of a bill, which more than any other now before Congress, demands consideration, not only from that body, but from the people of the United States. Indeed, it must be considered by the people, before it will be seriously considered by Congress. The impulse to its passage must come from the nation. They are gainers, and only gainers, by the enactment. Their Representatives at Washington seem to regard themselves as losers. The chink of the grasshoppers, as Burke would say, is importunate, while thousands of great cattle still chew the cud and keep silence; but the field is theirs, not the insects', after all.

Mr. Jenckes introduced his bill in the following terms:

"At the opening of a new Congress, on the threshold of a new Administration, I propose to present for a third time a bill for a reform in the Civil Service of this Government. It has been relieved from the departmental machinery which was believed to be necessary for its efficiency, when it was reported for a second time in the evil days of the last Administration, and is reduced to the simplicity of the original proposition. It is presented as a practical measure to enable the Administration to get its business done most effectually

and economically. It simply provides means for obtaining for the service of the Government in its subordinate offices, the best quality of servants to be obtained for the price paid for their services. That such a result is desirable has never been questioned; that an approximation to it can be obtained is generally believed; that an improvement in the present condition of the service is practicable, no one doubts. Any scheme which holds out a reasonable prospect of improvement ought to receive favorable consideration even by those who believed complete success unattainable. No one who has hitherto spoken upon this subject in this House has denied or questioned the existence of great demoralization in the civil service. Every one expresses a desire for reform, and a willingness to coöperate with any measure that offers plausible evidence of improvement. But no one has proposed any such general measure, or even indicated its outlines, or the possible theory upon which it should be framed. In the absence of any such measure to furnish a remedy for an admitted evil, I still venture to press mine; but I stand ready at all times to yield and to give my support to a better; and if the result that all desire shall be attained in any way, my satisfaction will be as great as if the scheme now proposed should be adopted."

The spirit of these remarks is commendable in the highest degree. Without dogmatism, without resistance to observations either from friendly or hostile sources, Mr. Jenckes brings his measure to the light and abides the result. In this speech, as in several speeches previously made, he notices the objections to his measure, and deals with them more or less successfully, but always in the same unpresumptuous temper. We speak of the spirit thus exhibited, because we regard it as an extremely opportune qualification in the framer of a bill so sure to encounter opposition from many quarters.

The bill itself is certainly not above criticism. In the first place, its language is very far from being simple and precise, so that it is not always easy to understand the nature or the working of each particular section. It would not be amiss to subject the document to literary revision, before it is finally brought forward for legislative action. In the second place, the principles it sets forth are not always as fully developed as might be desired. Perhaps it is impracticable to go into much further detail in regard to them, and even if it is not, much must still be left dependent upon the Board created by the bill,

and upon the rules adopted by that body for their own conduct, as well as for the conduct of the Civil Service. Indeed it is for the Board, should it be established, to decide whether reform is to follow; the question cannot be decided by any act of Congress. Admitting all this, one may still regret that the bill is not more exact in defining the great principles, either of examination or of probation, on which the system is to depend in theory.

A graver defect in the measure is perhaps an unavoidable one. It deals, as its author states, "only with the inferior officers, whose appointment is made by the President alone or by the heads of Departments. It does not touch places which are to be filled with the advice and consent of the Senate. It would not in the least interfere with the scramble for office which is now going on at the other end of the Avenue, or which fills with anxious crowds the corridors of the other wing of the Capitol. It relates only to the appointments which may be made in secret, which seldom meet the eye of the reader of newspapers, but which are a hundred-fold more numerous than those which await the confirmation of the Senate, and without which the Government could not be carried on. When I speak of candidates and officers it will be understood that I refer only to this subordinate class; those which long custom has held to be the sport of the political whirlwind cannot seek shelter under this measure." The President and Senate have the option, as has been observed, of requiring any candidate for offices in their gift, to be examined. But a point so important as this, should not be optional. If nothing obligatory can be added to the bill itself, in order to reach the other wing of the Capitol, then another measure should be introduced there. The Senate have the constitutional power to make their advice and consent to all the higher appointments dependent upon such conditions in respect to examination or probation, or both, as they may see fit to adopt. A resolution embodying some rules and regulations to this end, may be laid before the upper house at the same time that a bill for the reform of the Civil Service is laid before the lower. Whatever is inevitably defective in the latter, may thus be repaired in the former, and then the Service will be thoroughly reformed. To any system of examination or probation, there

must be exceptions in individual, perhaps also in classified cases. Many men who are the best qualified for our higher offices, would feel it a humiliation to have their qualifications demanded of them. Nor could they be examined, even if they would, by Commissioners of probably inferior abilities and attainments to their own. The rule should be general, and then it may be safely waived in all exceptional instances.

Whatever reservations suggest themselves, the bill before Congress deserves the respect of every disinterested citizen. If it does not accomplish all, it accomplishes much that is to be desired. It is the first step in the right direction. It opens the way to efforts as large and results as complete as the fulness of the cause demands. To carry it, is to carry far more than the bill itself.

Is it worth while to offer proofs that the reform is required? The American people cannot be blind to the facts before them. Turn whither they will, they see their offices the spoil of partisans, the prey of adventurers, the recompense of weakness and corruption. Every department of the administration suffers, every resource of the nation is impaired in consequence of the manner in which appointments to public office are carried. It is out of the question that places so filled should be administered for the common good. Events too fresh to need recalling, demonstrate the futility of relying upon any party or any leader to remove the ills to which our Government is heir. Long existing abuses are always beyond the reach of surface treatment. The only effectual mode of dealing with them is by an organic change in the system under which they have arisen.

So much for the necessity of the reform. Its practicability has been tested in other countries, especially in Great Britain. The Civil Service Commission, established there in May, 1855, began with framing a body of rules, by which the qualifications of candidates for public appointments were defined as to age, health, character and education. Upon the last point, the requirements varied according to the branches of service, lowest for the Post-office, and highest for the Colonial and Foreign Office. It is in relation to the educational qualifications, that most of the objections against the English system have been made. Its opponents have argued, on the one side, that the literary attainments of a candidate are altogether

secondary in importance to his practical ability, and on the other, that men of superior education are brought into offices where their attainments are wasted in merely mechanical duties. Here, however, as at every other important point, a moderate degree of elasticity in the regulations of the Service is sufficient to obviate most of the apprehended evil. The English Commission, finding that their examinations were efficient just in proportion as they were competitive, soon made competition the centre of their system, and the experience of every succeeding year has confirmed their early judgment. They have also attached more and more importance to the probationary character of their appointments. "In reporting upon the competitive examinations which have taken place under our superintendence," say the Commissioners, "we feel it to be our duty to avow our continued conviction that the selection of persons for junior situations in the Civil Service by competitive examination, combined with the proper conditions as to age, health and character, and with the check of a period of probation, and with promotion by merit from class to class, is the best mode of providing for the public service." That these conclusions have been sustained by public opinion, appears very strikingly from a resolution of the House of Commons: "In the opinion of this House, the experience acquired since the issuing of the order in Council of the 21st of May, 1855, is in favor of the adoption of the principle of competition as a condition of entrance to the Civil Service."

We have recent and remarkable evidence of the favorable impressions produced by the reform of 1855. Mr. Jenckes had but just introduced his new bill in the House of Representatives, when, on the 9th of April, Mr. Fawcett moved a resolution in the House of Commons, that all appointments to the Civil and Diplomatic Services ought to be obtained by open competition. To this bold assertion, reaching high above the appointments hitherto made on the competitive system, and extending from the Civil to the Foreign Service, no insuperable objection appears to have been made. Mr. Gladstone, though urging Mr. Fawcett to withdraw his motion, and pleading that the Government had been too much occupied with other business to take up this question, admitted that the motives for proceeding further in the direction indicated had

of late increased in strength. "I make this admission frankly," he added, "for the purpose of showing that the Government are alive to the importance of the point, which they will bear in mind when they proceed to take the subject into consideration.

. As the Government wish rather to rely upon what they perform, than upon what they promise, they trust that the House will give them a reasonable time to see whether they are or are not disposed to act upon the principle, of which they have already announced their approval." Mr. Fawcett's motion was thereupon rejected. It was too sweeping a measure to be effective, and its defeat, in the circumstances, ensures rather than prevents the object at which it aimed.

In this experience of Great Britain, we find our warrant for believing the reform of the Civil Service to be practicable. In the experience of our own country is the warrant for believing it to be indispensable. Year after year, administration after administration, the Service improves in one country and deteriorates in the other. It seems as if these premises led straight to the conclusion that the reform of the American Service ought to be no longer delayed.

To perfect the reform, it should be made one of principle as well as of organization. The bill before Congress may be ever so much improved, the board which it establishes may be ever so efficient, and yet something will be wanting, so long as public sentiment wavers concerning the true standard of administrative fidelity. We are yet to convince ourselves as a nation, that the purpose of public office is to serve the country, not the party, not the office-holder; and that, such being its purpose, its tenure should be independent of patronage, independent of all partisan tactics and personal influences. We are also to understand more fully than we have ever done, that those whom we place in office should be selected according to their fitness, both in character and in education, and that so long as they continue fit, they should be secured in the posts they occupy. A deeper sense of the importance of preparation for administrative duties must penetrate the popular mind. Running for luck is a course as dangerous to the man who takes an office, as to the office itself. He meets with difficulties he cannot remove; he falls into snares from which he cannot extricate himself; and long before his term ends, he is apt to

wish that it had never begun. For his sake, for the nation's sake, he should be educated at least so far as to be equal in himself to the duties which he undertakes, and if in some respects superior to them, it is all the better for him, all the better for the nation. There is scarcely an office under our Government, that would not be more faithfully, as well as more discreetly administered, were its occupant more fully instructed in the elements of Social Science, that is, in the principles at the foundation of society. One sometimes wishes that as the country possesses a training-school for its Army, and another for its Navy, so it might establish a third for its Civil Service. If this cannot be, then let the local schools give more attention to those studies which fit men for their social duties, and open to them a public career upon which they may enter without fear of disappointment or disgrace.

The question before us reaches beyond all political considerations. It may be described in part as constitutional. That august clause with which the Constitution begins, "We the People of the United States," has been slowly sinking into the fact, if not the form, We the Politicians. If there is any thing to restore its original effect, it is a reform which sets the politicians on their level, and the people on theirs. The question is also a moral one. Whatever the distinction, or the want of distinction between right and wrong in a Government, the same prevails under the Government. Public and private standards are never long conflicting, and the duty of a public man cannot be regarded in one light, and the duty of a private man in another. If we tamely consent to the sway of fraud and crime over our Civil Service, we are preparing for submission to the same sway in all the relations of life. Where, we may sadly ask, is the sacred honor which our fathers pledged to one another at the birth-time of the Union? The Union is safe, our lives and our fortunes are safe, the precious memories of those who fell in our defence are safe, but when we see the things now passing, and look toward those which seem to be coming, we are tempted to change a word in the phrase of Francis the First, and exclaim, All is saved except Honor.

SAMUEL ELIOT.

ON SOME TOPICS IN CRIMINAL LAW.

READ BEFORE THE JURISPRUDENCE COMMITTEE, BOSTON, APRIL 12, 1869.

THE service rendered by penal laws to Social reform must, for the most part, be indirect. For they assail effects rather than causes. They attack the branches more than the root of evil. They curb the hand more than the heart. The service, however, though indirect, may be great, in withdrawing temptation, in removing suggestion, in cutting off tradition, and in intercepting infection. By waging war upon the tares, they give the wheat, where there is any, a better chance to grow. But even in this indirect work they cannot keep far in advance of current opinion. They lean on the sentiments that nerve the better part of society against the toleration of crime; and they must be so framed and worked as to fortify, or at least not impair, those sentiments. It is of vital moment that indifference, stupefaction, or patience as to crime, should be in every way discouraged.

Penal laws should not, in form or in act, in their provisions or in their agencies, cool the retributive zeal of society. They may direct and regulate it, but they should not try to supersede it. The idea, one might almost say the instinct, of expiation or atonement, whatever aspect it may present to the philosophic jurist, has a hold on the popular mind that it would be folly to loosen. A feeling that prompts and enables the individual citizen to identify the interest of the community with his own, is an ally of law and order that the friends of law and order can ill spare. It is not only conservative, but actively conservative. The cry that crime must be followed close by penalty, that justice must be satisfied, that law must be vindicated, is, in spite of the wildness to which it sometimes runs, the best special constable. It is least wise to discountenance it in an orderly community, where it is most under wholesome restraint. Without it the most perfect police in the world must lose the scent. The moment the population of a crowded district, the members

of a peculiar community, or the organs of a wide-spread association sympathize with the offender more than with the law, the most patient and crafty detective is baffled. The policeman succeeds by dividing society, and using its better part against its worse. What could he do, were a fiendish freemasonry to usurp the place of loyalty to law in a quarter or section of a numerous community, and supplant statute legislation by an unwritten code that exacted a servile submission under swift and barbarous sanctions? Acts of attainder issued by irresponsible bands smite more surely than the law, for they are backed by hoarded hate or long-chafed appetite. The melancholy history of Ireland furnishes signal examples of this. On the other hand, something more sober and solemn than savage passion rallies a neighborhood against the perpetrator of an outrage that has struck it with astonishment and horror. To weaken or lower this sentiment is thoroughly unsafe.

This uncapitulating revolt against crime is the more needed, when our modern press, by pouring the details of distant enormities into every corner of the land, is doing in a broad way what the Newgate Calender did in a narrow way. The morbid anatomy of sin has become the daily entertainment of multitudes. Prurient fiction and coarse fact are sapping the modesty of the imagination. The young mind is early introduced to the second product of the tree of knowledge. Whether a thirst for the punishment of crime is likely in any high degree to coexist with such familiarity with crime itself, may well be doubted. For the danger of corruption is not all. Scepticism as to the possibility of extirpating or controlling so vast a mass of iniquity is a natural result. The passive reader smokes his lazy cigar as comfortably over a horrid picture of depravity as over the last paragraph about the last play. He acquiesces in crime as a necessary effect of natural laws. He is less sure that man is doomed to be punished for sin than that he is doomed to commit it.

May there not be a tendency, in our present treatment of criminals, to tear off the veil, that (under due limitations) adds much to the undefined terror that ought to surround the idea of heinous crime? The execution of some famous ruffian is heralded by a scene in the convict's cell, to which "a gen-

tleman of the press," and soon, of course, the rest of the world are admitted. The execution itself is nearly private, so far as spectators are concerned, but the inevitable reporter is there also, and in a few hours will turn half the households of the region into virtual witnesses of the spectacle. We carefully wall in our convicts, and every Thanksgiving season we allow the world to be informed that they have had a better dinner than nine-tenths of the innocent poor. This, to be sure, is a reaction against ancient cruelty; but may we not, in striving to get prisoners recognized to be men, overlook the fact that they are dishonored men, and the importance, in general, of secluding their affairs as well as themselves, after having made due provision for the visits of responsible supervisors and charitable instructors? The first and foremost thing a prison should suggest is the burden of guilt. Whatever comforts may be admissible within, the world without need not be treated to an exhibition of them.

A weak or wanton use of the pardoning power tends to lighten the dread of crime. To borrow an old figure,—if you leave one of the hundred gates of Thebes open, it is of little account to bolt the other ninety-nine. As soon as the chance of pardon becomes calculable, it is calculated. Easily remitted penalties accustom the mind to exceptions, and wean it from rule. Forgive and forget go readily together. To pour on example with the right hand and then wipe it off with the left, is a process that requires uncommonly good reasons to recommend it. Pardon in its proper use is not the opposite, but the supplement of justice. It helps out law by equity. The power is not a perquisite of office; and the exercise of it is no favor. A pardon should no more be given away than it should be sold. Easy charity has no place in such an act. It is a case in which mercy is a trust. In this country is the exercise of this power sufficiently guarded everywhere by legal checks? In its nature it is discretionary; but discretion will bear to be hedged about by responsibility. In some States of the Union the pardoning officer or body must report in writing to the Legislature, at the next session, every case of pardon with the reasons for granting it. This looks like a salutary restraint. It is hardly possible to conceive that any reasonable act of clemency should shrink

from open day. If to the statement of reasons were appended the petitions and the names of the petitioners, the publicity and consequent accountability would be only the more complete. In the case of convicts relieved of a portion of their term of punishment, such safeguards are eminently desirable. The presumption being against the relief, the burden of publicly proving its expediency ought to rest on the authority empowered by law to judge of that expediency.

Judicial sentences might, perhaps, be more impressive, if greater method and system were apparent in the awarding of them. Discretionary power, though not under dictation, ought to be under reason, and to be so exercised as to justify itself. If the rationale of this discretion could be more fully stated and clearly understood, the public might be less at a loss than is sometimes the case. The ordinary reader of a newspaper is occasionally puzzled by seeming inconsistency in point of severity between different sentences, or want of proportion between the facts reported and the penalty imposed in single cases. It is bad to let in the doctrine of chances; tempted men trade on it; it is bad, too, even to seem unnecessarily to ratify or emphasize the hard inequalities of human conditions. When a poor wretch goes to jail because he cannot pay the fine that a rich sinner tosses down and forgets, the lesson is an unedifying one. Might not the law so far extend the judge's discretion, as to authorize him to let the prisoner in such instances work out his fine at wages in the House of Correction, or, in cases of peculiar hardship, under police supervision outside? The justification of judicial discretion lies in the fact that grave mistakes are more likely to be avoided, under the apportionment of penalty to offence by an experienced magistrate after the fact than by subtle legislative discriminations before the fact. Some extension of this discretion might, perhaps, not be unsafe in certain classes of cases of a much more imposing character than those just mentioned. The increasing acceptance of wealth, if not as the highest good, yet as the indispensable goal, or at all events the multiplication of the opportunities of acquiring wealth is apparently beginning to dull the sensitiveness of the community as to the character of the means by which it is acquired. Quantity vouches for quality. And this

tolerant view seems to be reinforced by a growing worship of broad and showy effect, and of any bold and venturous stroke. The adoration of smartness is not the least punctual of our devotions. He that can bluff off, laugh down, or quite ignore scruples, has gained a smart victory over one more obstacle. A counterfeit reputation circulates in consideration of good money. Things being so, it must be unwelcome to have judgment stalk into the preserves of prosperity. It is as when pestilence presumes to mount from the dunghill to the castle. A neighbor's frailty is too close a lesson. The suggestion is startling. Courts of justice can, of course, do little directly to counteract such tendencies. The near prizes outglare the far off penalties; the pleasing possibility of the one flatters hope more than the repulsive possibility of the other rouses fear. A judicious assignment of a modest percentage of questionable gains to some institution of benevolence or learning seems to the community a brand plucked from the burning. The future buys off the past. It is a cheap insurance of toleration. Still, what can be done ought to be done. The judge's stern deafness to appeals founded on previous conventional respectability is one of the chief bulwarks of social and professional integrity. Cannot more be done to fortify the bench? Cannot the law strengthen the toils it spreads for our beasts of prey? Are the penalties denounced against the delinquencies of fiduciaries, severe as in many respects they are, heavy enough? How would it do, for example, to authorize the courts in flagrant cases, to turn over to a receiver the effects of a convicted swindler, to be retained till every fair claim growing out of his fraudulent transactions, were, to the extent of those effects, satisfied?

As to one class of offences the law can ill afford to be forbearing. An open dealer in articles of food, in remedial drugs, in merchandise of prime necessity, is virtually a fiduciary character. He is an agent of the community, if not appointed, yet accepted and trusted by it, and that at his own seeking. The penalties on adulteration (at least in Massachusetts) have scarcely kept pace with those in other forms of deliberate depredation. And depredation tells but half the story. The offender may be also, to all intents and purposes, a poisoner in

a small and slow way. On no point, perhaps, is the average selling conscience less quick and more composed than on this. Men who cannot translate *caveat emptor* give a good part of their years to a living commentary upon it. It might adorn the panel of more than one family coach. To dull natures of this sort, which perceive crime when they feel its penalties, the law might venture to make the sensation a little sharper.

Opportunity not only tempts to crime, but familiarizes with crime, till at length even its unmasked ugliness ceases to disgust. It should be a fixed object of criminal law, to put every possible obstacle in the way of the colonization and multiplication of a criminal class in our great cities. When such a caste has been formed, and has settled in a quarter or district, the minister of the law too often becomes either a foreigner and public enemy, or a helpless bystander. He rarely finds a traitor in the camp. There is hardly a beam in the house he can use to pull down the rest with. Worse than this. A community has established itself, barbarian in morals but civilized in ingenuity, with a code, manners and obligations of its own. And it is fortunate if the officer of the law does not learn to make terms with the system, or at all events to wink at it. These Alsatians have their professional careers and a public opinion. The wild Bohemian life has its charms for the young, and forces them into a villanous precocity. A centre is formed to which floating crime gravitates, to be shot out again on vile missions. Owing to the greater mobility of our population and the successive displacement of the haunts of crime by decent business and habitation, we are less cursed in this way than some parts of the Old World. But the wonderful growth of our cities is exposing us also to serious dangers. We may, before we are aware, get fastened upon us those pests, which, in an urban world like that of London, it is next to impossible to extirpate, and fearfully difficult to keep within endurable bounds. It is a much more knotty problem how to deal with criminals as a class, than as individuals. Any attempt to solve it abroad may soon, if not yet, interest us also. The "Habitual Criminals" Bill, now pending in England, proposes to sanction by law an experiment suggested and urged several years ago, but resisted then as a departure from that

jealous protection of possible innocence, which has been the boast of the common law. The increasing amount and hardness, however, of crime in London seems at last to have convinced the public of the need of jealousy in the other direction; and the Bill just mentioned, subjects persons who, by at least two convictions for felony have earned a place in the criminal class, to police supervision, and in some cases to punishment on reasonable suspicion. It also throws the burden of proof on receivers of stolen goods, if previously convicted of any fraud or dishonesty. The working of this policy, if adopted and carried out, may furnish experience not unavailable on this side of the ocean. If persons, reasonably suspected of keeping dens of pollution, could be required to clear themselves, under pain of being ejected, and if their jackals and runners could be put to a similar examination, much might be done to break up old haunts and make the way of transgressors hard. Of course, all such urgent remedies must be administered by very responsible persons, and with great prudence. But Society has at least as good a right to protect itself against its Ishmaelites as they to protect themselves against Society.

HENRY W. TORREY.

PEOPLE'S BANKS OF GERMANY.

THE growing frequency of strikes and the continuous agitation of the labor question of late years in this country afford conclusive evidence, that, notwithstanding the higher wages earned by the working classes, the relations of capital to labor among us, while more satisfactory than on the other side of the Atlantic, are by no means what they should be. Much of the prevailing discontent of our working population is no doubt attributable to the effect of our past and present fiscal policy. But at the same time it is a fact, admitted by all careful students of social economy, that the concentration of the leading branches of industry in the hands of large capitalists has likewise much to do with this wide-spread dissatisfaction. For, while it is true, on the one hand, that the rapid growth of great industrial establishments benefits mankind by multiplying and cheapening production, it is also true, on the other, that this process is injurious to no small degree by increasing the number of dependent producers. The extinction of the class of independent producers with small capital, in consequence of their inability to compete with large manufacturers, is indeed no less a positive evil than the concentration, as in Great Britain and other European countries, of real property in relatively few hands and the consequent increase of landless people. Any practical method then of counteracting the hurtful influence of this characteristic tendency of the age is entitled to the serious consideration of all that have the welfare of the working classes at heart. It is in Germany, that, by dint of intelligent and persistent efforts during the last nineteen years, the great problem of securing to the laboring elements the advantages of capital has been carried nearer to a solution

than anywhere else. And this through the institutions known as People's Banks, of which this article is to treat.

ORIGIN.

The system of "People's" or "Coöperative Banks" in Germany, is the off-spring of one man's intelligence and benevolence. Its creator is Mr. H. Schulze, of Delitzsch, a small town in Prussian Saxony, who now enjoys a well-deserved celebrity in and beyond his native country. A judge of a provincial court in 1848 and 1849, he was obliged by his active part in the events of that revolutionary period to resign his office soon after the triumph of reaction. Moved by the deplorable condition, in which those stormy years had left the laboring classes, he resolved to make the propagation of the principles of coöperation, which had been his special study, the work of his life. No resolution was ever more faithfully kept.

In pursuing his object of improving the material and moral condition of working people, Mr. Schulze steered clear of the reefs and shallows, which have caused the wreck of the various socialistic schools of modern times. The solid basis, on which he built up his coöperative system, was the principle of self-help (*selbsthülfe*). He proposed to transform dependent into independent producers by their adding to the economic factor, which they already possessed in their labor, the other main elements of production, capital with its correlative—credit. The former he undertook to create by the application of the principle, that even small forces may by union become great powers, and the latter by substituting the responsibility of many for that of one.

He commenced to realize his theories as early as 1850. He began on a very modest scale by organizing what was first known as a "Society of Mutual Credit" among the poor mechanics of his native town. The operations of the Society were simple enough. They consisted in the payment by the members of small monthly assessments (one silver groschen — 2½ cents) into a common fund, out of which advances were made to the associates at a fixed rate of interest. The Society was not successful at first and this for the reason, that it relied more on the benevolence of outside parties than on the regular contributions for the creation of a capital. After two years' trial,

Mr. Schulze was brought to the conclusion, that any undertaking of this kind, in order to succeed, must rely exclusively on the efforts and contributions of those directly interested in it. Accordingly the Society was reorganized in 1852, by the adoption of a new constitution, providing, that the common fund should be formed solely from the contributions of members and that no outside subscriptions should be received on any terms. In order to open the way for obtaining by loans the additional means needed to make the Society more beneficial to the members, the instrument further provided for the joint responsibility of all the associates for all the obligations of the Society. The adoption of this vital principle mainly insured the ultimate success of Mr. Schulze's labors. Under the new organization, the periodical contribution of the members was left to their option, except that it could not be less than two groshen (5 cents) per month, and that no member could contribute more than a total of two hundred thalers* towards the capital. The profits were, of course, to be distributed in proportion to the individual contributions. Thus reconstructed, the Delitzsch Society took a new and healthy start, and has ever since enjoyed uninterrupted prosperity.

Encouraged by his success in his native town, Mr. Schulze began in 1853, a systematic and energetic agitation for the introduction of his German coöperative banking system throughout Prussia and the other parts of the old federation. He published a series of *brochures*. He maintained an extensive correspondence. He interested the leading newspapers in his work. Elected to the Prussian Parliament, he advocated his economic theories from the legislative tribune. And he not only propagated his own doctrines far and wide, but he successfully combatted in a long and fierce conflict those of Lasalle and his disciples, who would have the State take the place of self-help as the furnisher of capital to workingmen, and whose vagaries for sometime enjoyed the popular favor to a considerable extent. But, notwithstanding his tireless efforts, his cause gained ground but slowly for some years; and this partly because of the inherent difficulty of introducing reforms of any description among a people naturally so conservative as the

* One thaler — 70 cents gold.

Germans, but mainly because of the want of a connecting medium between the several People's Banks already established. This latter drawback was removed in 1859 through his initiation. In that year, he issued a call for a meeting of representatives of all the People's Banks. The meeting assembled in due time at Weimar, and resulted in the organization of a League comprising all the institutions represented. Another result of its deliberations was the opening of a Central Bureau, under the superintendence of Mr. Schulze, whose functions were to be :

1. To keep the members of the League regularly informed, through a periodical publication, concerning the general progress of coöperation, the condition of the several societies, and other matters of special interest ;
2. To represent and promote the cause of coöperation in the press, in legislative bodies, and in all national and international meetings called to consider economic questions ;
3. To assist both in the maintenance and development of existing societies and in the foundation of new ones ;
4. To establish and promote closer relations between the several societies, by an exchange of reports and by business arrangements, such as the extension of credit to one another ;
5. To procure loans for Societies from bankers and others ;
6. To keep a register of all the German Societies, and to publish yearly statistical reports of their condition.

As anticipated by Mr. Schulze, the Central Bureau imparted a new and powerful impetus to every coöperative interest throughout Germany, and to none more so than to the People's Banks. It fulfilled successfully all the functions mentioned with a single exception in connection with the yearly statistical reports. These, the Bureau, at the head of which Mr. Schulze continues to this day, has so far been unable to make complete owing to the failure of many organizations to send in their yearly statements. Still the reports, issued by the Bureau, between 1860 and 1868, form a very interesting and instructive series of publications, from which we extract the subjoined facts, relative to the growth, the constitution and the administration of the People's Banks.

GROWTH.

The total number of People's Banks, known to the Central Bureau at the close of 1867, was no less than *thirteen*

hundred and four, with nearly *three hundred thousand members*. The following table shows their growth from 1859 till 1867, inclusive :

Year.	Banks.	Year.	Banks.	Year.	Banks.
1859	183	1862	511	1865	961
1860	257	1863	662	1866	1047
1861	364	1864	890	1867	1304

Although all these banks are registered at the Bureau, but one-half of them have sent in annual reports. The following tabular statement shows, in consolidated form, the number of banks that have made regular returns, together with their yearly gains in members, resources and business, during the period of nine years :

Year.	No. of Banks.	Number of Members.	Active and Reserve Capital.	Amount of Deposits received.	Amount of Loans contracted.	Amount of Loans made to Members.
			Thalers.	Thalers.	Thalers.	Thalers.
1859	80	18,676	276,846	512,350	501,795	4,131,436
1860	133	31,603	528,857	1,322,893	1,069,833	8,478,489
1861	188	48,760	907,213	2,649,036	1,983,441	16,876,009
1862	243	69,202	1,332,438	2,747,577	3,441,033	23,674,261
1863	339	99,175	2,021,250	3,416,220	5,641,820	33,917,848
1864	445	135,013	3,252,757	5,355,265	7,401,317	48,147,495
1865	498	169,595	4,852,558	6,502,197	11,154,179	67,569,903
1866	532	193,712	6,329,504	8,726,518	11,169,011	85,010,145
1867	570	219,358	7,507,085	11,378,570	13,311,669	111,252,134

From this table it appears :

1. That while the number of banks increased only seven-fold, the members increased ten-fold.

2. That the average capital of each bank had risen from 3,460 thalers in 1859, to 13,170 thalers in 1867.

3. That, while in 1859 the capital of the banks was only 27 5-10 per cent. of the total of deposits received and loans contracted, it was 30 4-10 per cent. in 1867, thus showing that their wonderful growth was not permitted to impair their safety.

4. That, while in 1859 the loans made by the banks averaged only 221 thalers to a member, the average in 1867 was over 500.

5. That the capacity of the system to provide the classes, for whose benefit it was specially devised, with the two needed elements of material prosperity—capital and credit—is infinite.

When it is remembered that the institutions comprised in the foregoing table represent less than one-half of the number actually in existence, the economic importance and vast proportions of the system become even more strikingly apparent.

CONSTITUTION.

Every person of good moral character, able to support himself, can become a shareholder. Applications for admission are passed upon by the Board of Trustees, who, with the executive officers, manage the affairs of each bank. Applicants can appeal from their adverse decision to a general meeting of the members. Every member pays a fixed monthly contribution towards the capital. The amount of the contribution varies, but is usually low enough to enable the poorest working man to become a shareholder. The nominal value of shares is from ten to two hundred thalers, but ordinarily ranges between thirty and fifty. The monthly contribution goes towards paying the member's share. It can be increased in the option of members to any extent within the limits of the fixed minimum and maximum. Members can pay up their shares at once, if they prefer. No member can hold more than one share. This limitation would necessarily confine the growth of the Associations, but for the fact, that the number of members is not restricted. It was adopted in order to prevent the capital from being monopolized by a few.

Members are at liberty to retire from the Association whenever they see fit; but they must notify the Trustees of their intention, and their withdrawal does not take effect until the close of the current business year. In most Associations the notice, in order to be valid, must be given from four to six months before the making up of the yearly accounts. Any member can be expelled by the general assembly, on motion of the Board of Trustees, for immoral conduct or failure to meet his liabilities. Retiring or excluded members are only entitled to the amount paid in and accrued dividends.

Their liability as members continues for two years longer. In case of the death of a member, his heirs have no title to membership, but simply to a settlement of his account.

ADMINISTRATION.

As stated, the affairs of each bank are conducted by a Board of Trustees and the executive officers. The former exercise a general supervision, and the latter attend to the regular routine of business. The Trustees are elected by the members in general assembly and stand between them and the officers. They appoint and remove all the officers. All questions of vital bearing upon the future of the Association are decided at general meetings. The details of business management are arranged between the Trustees and officers.

The capital of the People's Banks consists of two funds, active and reserve. The former is derived from the periodical contributions of members, who are credited accordingly. No member can diminish, withdraw or assign to a third party, either the whole or any part of his contributions. The reserve fund is made up from the admission fees, which range from one to five thalers, and from the regular retention of a varying percentage of the profits. Its proportion to the active capital is not uniform, but averages five to six per cent. of the two funds combined, and eight to ten per cent. of the liabilities. The reserve fund can be touched only in case of dissolution, when it is distributed among the members.

Other resources are derived from deposits and loans. These, with the active fund, constitute the working capital.

Members draw no interest on their contributions, but receive dividends from the general profits. The dividends range from four and a half to thirty-eight per cent., but average about twelve per cent. They are only paid on paid up shares; those on partly paid shares are credited to members, until their shares are wholly paid. Deposits are received on time for six or twelve months, and money is borrowed at long dates, while loans are made to members for briefer periods. In this wise the People's Banks can use deposits and borrowed money with perfect safety as part of their working capital. The loans to members vary according to the resources of the several

banks. They range, as shown by Mr. Schulze's latest tables, from the smallest sums all the way up to twenty-eight thousand thalers. Each member is entitled to advances to the amount of his share without security. Further credit can be given him in the discretion of the trustees or officers, but in this case they must require security. If he cannot furnish this himself, his paper must be endorsed by two other members. The interest charged on loans to members, varies between six and fourteen per cent., the rate of the smaller banks being usually higher than that of the larger.

In illustration of the practical working of the system, we give a list of the principal People's Banks in the leading cities of Germany with an exhibit of their business in 1867.*

The most remarkable fact disclosed in this table is the proportion of the losses to the aggregate amount of business transacted by the banks enumerated. While the latter exceeded thirteen millions, the former was less than eleven thousand thalers, or about one-fourteenth of one per cent. The same insignificant proportion is noticeable in the returns of all the other banks, which sent in their statements for 1867. This fact speaks volumes for, both the administration of the banks and the integrity of the German working classes.

Through the exertions of Mr. Schulze, a large central bank was established in 1864 in Berlin, with a capital of 270,000 thalers in shares of 200, with a view to facilitate the contraction of larger loans by and the investment of surplus funds for the People's Banks. This institution has proved so successful, that its capital was enlarged in 1867 to 500,000 thalers. The establishment of another fiscal agency at Frankfort on-the-Main with a capital of 150,000 thalers, is in contemplation.

By a reference to the table it will be seen that the business of some of the banks has been entirely out of proportion to their resources. For instance: the Bank of Gera, with a capital of only 39,000 thalers, did, with the aid of 9,405 thalers borrowed money, and 239,706 thalers deposits, a business amounting to 481,411 thalers for the year.

* See page 136.

That of Crefeld had a capital of only 29,130 thalers, yet operated by means of 179,885 thalers borrowed money and 179,885 thalers deposits to the extent of 474,470 thalers. The Coeslin Bank, with but 9,686 thalers capital, made, on the basis of 128,245 thalers in current deposits, loans to members amounting to an aggregate of 578,446 thalers. These figures, while proving the reliability of the principle of joint responsibility as a means of procuring credit for the banks, indicate anything but sound financeering. Indeed, an overstretch of credit, such as they disclose, constitutes a positive danger, and renders the institutions in question constantly liable to a sudden collapse. Mr. Schulze early perceived this peril, and in 1864 proposed a resolution at the annual meeting of representatives of the banks, to the effect that the proportion of the active and reserve funds to the total working capital should be no less than twenty-seven and a half per cent. The resolution was adopted, and has since been acted upon by most banks. In 1867, an average proportion of thirty and four-tenths per cent. was soon attained. The cases mentioned are really rare exceptions.

It should be understood that the People's Banks were not meant to take, and have not taken the place of Savings' and kindred institutions. They were intended to provide working-men with the same banking facilities that previous to their establishment were the exclusive privilege of capitalists, and this mission they have certainly fulfilled. They are now universally appreciated as a healthy and powerful factor in the social economy of Germany, and as such have lately obtained recognition and protection from special laws, which distrustful governments long hesitated to grant. A trial of nineteen years having proved them a complete success, they can safely be recommended for imitation in this country.

HENRY VILLARD.

STATEMENT OF THE PRINCIPAL PEOPLE'S BANKS OF GERMANY.—1867.

SOCIETIES.	Number of Members.	Capital.	Deposits.	Loans (Contracted).	Amount of Business in 1867.	Number of Loans to Members.	Range of Loans to Members.	Interest paid on Loans to Members.	Dividends.	Losses.
People's Bank of Delitzsch . . .	545	Thalers, 14,130	Thalers, 5,980	Thalers, 15,154	Thalers, 114,933	Thalers, 734	Thalers, 3-2,000	Thalers, 6 $\frac{2}{3}$	Thalers, 8 $\frac{1}{3}$	Thalers, 17
" " Aschersleben . . .	1046	98,984	none	97,419	966,137	4639	2-12,000	7	8	none
" " Breslau . . .	2936	110,274	187,797	1,800	918,135	6605	5-5,000	5 $\frac{1}{2}$ -10	10	376
" " Berlin . . .	232	13,452	5,721	none	194,008	2097	5-1,000	10	10	500
" " Dresden . . .	1470	119,984	438,999	26,203	698,570	5548	5-10,000	12	not given	none
" " Freiberg . . .	1472	56,848	275,662	none	1,335,897	5424	5-10,000	7	12	945
" " Colberg . . .	1193	39,681	83,360	2,000	496,603	3750	5-8,000	6 $\frac{2}{3}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	none
" " Gotha . . .	1440	91,334	145,521	138,609	592,239	3372	not given	6 $\frac{1}{3}$	8 $\frac{1}{3}$	10
" " Halle . . .	985	90,508	145,225	22,243	431,376	4598	5-9,200	6	6 $\frac{1}{2}$ -18	1422
" " Hamover . . .	1341	54,515	none	123,877	272,143	3618	5-500	7	8	2170
" " Frankfurt (Oder,) . . .	1400	33,001	3,198	47,429	756,187	not given	1-10,000	6-8	9 $\frac{2}{3}$	787
" " Rostock . . .	2067	174,430	104,789	325,262	1,950,240	8336	3-5,500	5 $\frac{1}{2}$ -7	8	none
" " Eisleben . . .	400	114,302	118,350	224,093	1,378,127	5840	3-14,000	6-7	12	597
" " Zwickau . . .	915	53,749	none	360,909	521,011	2889	3-10,000	8	not given	none
" " Wiesbaden . . .	1950	157,996	235,361	365,651	398,613	1773	10-28,000	5 $\frac{1}{4}$ -7	8	none
" " Leipzig . . .	4224	136,926	133,925	89,889	481,733	4983	3-6,000	7	10	2367
" " Gera . . .	846	39,002	239,704	9,405	481,411	2520	2-5,000	6	10	39
" " Coeslin . . .	385	9,686	128,245	none	578,446	2028	5-4,000	7-8	16 $\frac{2}{3}$	none
" " Crefeld . . .	565	29,310	99,979	none	474,470	9872	5-1,200	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	10	1366
" " Mannheim . . .	190	65,478	none	179,885	549,866	3426	3-3,429	5-6	5	none

PROGRESS IN ECONOMIC EDUCATION.

IN one of the preceding articles it is stated that a growing importance is attached to Social Science as an element of education in the leading countries of Europe. In confirmation of this statement, we subjoin an account of an important step recently taken by the French Government in recognition of Social Science as a mental discipline.

In the Report of the Imperial Minister of Public Instruction upon higher education, in November last, he recommends the constitution of a section in the "Ecole des hautes études," under the title of "Section of Economic Sciences." This Section was established on the 30th of January, 1869.

We translate in full the regulations for the course of instruction :

ART. I. The instruction in the Section of Economic Science, include in general, 1st. Under Political Economy: The principles of political economy and their applications to social institutions; the history and exposition of economic theories; the history of the gradual emancipation of labor, studied from a personal view and in the light of facts; the history of real and personal property, and that of commercial and industrial associations; the study of vital statistics, and of past and present methods of colonization.

2nd. Under Finance: The different systems of taxation among ancient and modern nations; the general rules observed in the administration of public finances, in the collection of public revenues and their expenditure; the general principles of public accountability; public and private credit in its various applications, either to individuals or to associations.

3rd. Under Law: The general rules of municipal law; the laws and regulations governing trade and agricultural and industrial productions; the statutes and treaties relative to maritime law and international commerce.

4th. Under Statistics: Its applications to the subjects mentioned.

ART. II. No one can become a pupil of the Section of Economic Sciences without having passed an examination,

The examination comprises history, geography, and the elements of political economy and law. The Board of Examiners consists of a member of the Council for the Section, and of two other members selected, either from the Council of State or from the members of the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences, (Institute) or from the Professors of the College of France, or the Law Faculty of Paris. The Minister of Public Instruction designates the examiners.

ART. III. Every applicant in registering, shall indicate whether he desires to follow the whole of the studies comprised in the Section or confine himself to any special course.

ART. IV. The Council for the Section prepares a plan of study for each pupil, and designates among the instructors the particular one who will be charged to see to the carrying out of this plan, and to give to the pupil the necessary guidance in his studies. Every pupil is moreover authorized to apply for advice to the Faculty.

ART. V. The duties of the pupils consist, especially :

1st. In following the prescribed course of instruction, and preparing an analysis of each lecture, which must be handed to the instructor. 2nd. In making researches upon given subjects in the libraries, archives and collections of Paris and the Departments. 3rd. In taking part, under authorization, in investigations connected with the subjects of study. 4th. In translating, analyzing and commenting upon foreign publications within the scope of their studies. 5th. In discussing given subjects in class conferences, to be presided over by instructors. Finally, in studying in foreign libraries and public collections, under the most competent guidance, questions relating to the political economy, economic institutions, the public and municipal laws and the finances of other countries.

ART. VI. The studies of pupils entitle them to marks which serve in grading them for the final examination. A record of the marks is kept by particular instructors, who, at the end of each term, submit to the Council a report upon the studies of the pupils confided to their supervision. The pupils sent abroad, are required to report to their instructor once a month, the progress made in their researches. Such of their labors as may be printed by virtue of the decree of July, 1868, are published under the supervision and responsibility of instructors. Only such pupils are sent abroad as have spent at least a year in the school.

It is gratifying to know that, even before the action of the French Government, a movement was begun to secure the recognition of Social Science as a leading discipline at the oldest University of this country.

At a meeting of the Board of Overseers of Harvard University, April 9th, 1868, the following Report was presented, accepted, and recommitted to the Committee presenting it, with instructions to confer on the subject with the Corporation of the University.

“The Committee appointed ‘to inquire and report at a future meeting of this Board whether additional means of instruction should not be provided upon subjects relating to the practical affairs of business, and touching the mutual relations and interests of capital and labor, and the development of national resources,’ respectfully Report :

“Your Committee recommend that Lectureships be established in the College which will offer to the students at Cambridge and to the community at large instruction upon the range of subjects referred to in the order committed to them, and present some Rules as the basis of a plan for consideration.

“*First.* Courses of lectures may be established on any subject within the range of the order, to which lecturers shall be assigned annually by the Corporation, with the assent of the Overseers.

“*Second.* Each course shall consist of twelve lectures, to be delivered in Cambridge, open to the senior class and members of the professional schools without charge, and to any other person observing the rules establishing the course, on the payment of five dollars.

“*Third.* The compensation of each lecturer shall be a moderate stated sum, with such fees in addition as may be received from persons not entitled to admission gratuitously,

“*Fourth.* Public notice shall be given of the time and place appointed for each course, with the name of the lecturer.

“*Fifth.* Any person or association presenting ten thousand dollars to the College may designate the subject for one course of lectures annually, and the income derived from such sum shall be paid to the lecturer in such course as the stated compensation.

“If the sum of three thousand dollars can be secured, your Committee advise the immediate establishment of two courses of lectures annually for three years, in order to introduce the plan without unnecessary delay.

“The mode of compensation proposed will show how far the system in foreign Universities of lectures paid by fees, which is strongly advocated by some eminent scholars, is adapted to our institutions. The annual appointment of lecturers will enable the College to invite, from time to time, persons who may have distin-

guished themselves in any special branch, and to unite the observation and training of practical men with the instruction given by professed teachers. The College will offer to young persons, whose means do not enable them to devote themselves to a collegiate education, the opportunity of instruction in branches relating to their future pursuits. And should such Lectureships be ably occupied in the Colleges of the country, we should find a healthy influence exercised upon the discussion of public questions, and the legislation of the country upon practical affairs.

“It is a frequent complaint that our legislation is subordinate to the temporary political issues advocated by great parties. It seems to your Committee that no remedy for this evil will be so effective as the open discussion in the Universities of the country, of the principles which underlie such subjects as national resources, modes of taxation, currency, and commercial relations, by those who have made these subjects a special study. And it is our earnest desire that Harvard College shall omit no effort to aid in disseminating the true principles which govern national obligations and national integrity.

“Your Committee are aware that no definite action can be taken on this subject without the concurrence of the Corporation, and they present these views to the Overseers for discussion, and to be disposed of as they may see fit.”

CORRESPONDENCE.

ECONOMIC RESULTS OF THE EMANCIPATION OF
SERFS IN RUSSIA.

At the request of the Association, M. N. Tourgueneff, the well-known advocate of Emancipation in Russia, has kindly prepared the following letter concerning the gradual extinction of serfdom, in the great Northern Empire. We translate from the French original.

Paris, March 8th, 1869.

The Proclamation of the Emperor Alexander II., dated February 19th, 1861, while it gave personal liberty to the slave peasantry, also granted to them proprietary rights to the land they occupied, and in the occupation of which they had been obliged to work for the benefit of their masters. The quota of land assigned for every head was fixed at three hectares* as a minimum to be increased in those parts of the country, where there was a great abundance of land in proportion to the population.

But the peasants, though allowed personal freedom, became owners in fee of the land assigned to them under the Imperial decree only on purchasing it of the proprietors, and their obligation to labor for the latter did not cease until after the completion of the purchase. In purchasing, the emancipated serfs were required to pay a sum fixed by law. To render it possible for them to acquire their quota of real property, the Government ordained, that the Imperial Treasury should lend them eighty per cent. of the appraised value of the allotted land. This advance the Government made to the owners in the form of certificates of indebtedness, bearing five per cent. interest, payable by the Imperial Treasury, and redeemable within

* A hectare equal to 2.471 acres.

forty-nine years. The peasants are obliged to pay to the Government six per cent. interest during the same period, the difference in the rate of interest serving to compensate the Government for the principal advanced. The remaining twenty per cent. of the purchase-money was to be paid in cash by the peasants to the proprietors at the time when the bargain for the purchase of the land was made.

The purchase on these conditions was optional with the peasants, but, if the proprietors renounced their claims to the twenty per cent. in cash, then they could insist on the purchase, and the peasants were obliged to consent to it. The emancipated people, it should be stated, have always accepted with joy and gratitude the chance to purchase, whenever their masters offered them an opportunity to buy under this provision of the law. Often in agreeing to purchase, the peasants have stipulated with the proprietors to pay them the twenty per cent. in the course of five or even ten years.

To ensure the small proprietors, who did not own more than twenty serfs and who would have suffered relatively more than the large owners, a sufficient indemnity, the law provided for the purchase outright of their possessions, which were united to the public domain. With the transfer of their estates to the Government, their relations to their serfs became the same under the law as those of the large individual proprietors.

One clause of the Emancipation Act provides that, instead of selling, the proprietors may offer to give up to the peasants at once and gratuitously one hectare of land per head for their own use, and that, if the peasants accept this offer, the Act of Emancipation in their cases becomes complete. In the districts abounding in rich lands, some of the peasants who were not suspicious of their masters, *dona ferentes*, accepted the offer made under this provision, hoping that they would find land to buy or to hire on better terms than the conditions of purchase. But it appears, or at least, so it is said, that they now regret doing so. The opinion of the peasants generally is not in favor of this arrangement, and they call the lots of one hectare "the beggars' lots."

In addition to these several stipulations, the Act of Emancipation gives permission to the proprietors as well as to the

peasants, to make any sort of bargain, mutually and amicably agreed to on both sides, either for the purchase, or for any other mode of acquisition of land by the freed people.

The practical results of this system of emancipation, up to the end of the year 1868, have been officially published, and are as follows :

The number of peasants still held to service, (<i>relations obligées</i> ,)	3,401,529
Number of freed peasants, ...	6,374,488

The lots of this class have been acquired in the following proportion :

1. By purchase without the assistance of the Government, and by the acceptance of lots of one hectare, as gifts from the proprietors, ... 552,050 souls.
2. By purchase with the assistance of Government, ... 5,282,764 “ *

The total purchases with the assistance of the Government amount to . . 18,047,432 hectares, making an average of about $3\frac{1}{2}$ hectares to each soul.

The total sum advanced to purchasers amounts to 477,096,972 roubles.† Of this vast amount only 208,448,203 roubles were used to pay off mortgages on the purchased lands. This heavy indebtedness of the proprietors affords a striking proof of the unprofitableness of serfdom.

We see by these figures that of the ten millions of former serfs, two-thirds have become landed proprietors. Excepting the very small number of those, who have preferred the gratuitous gift of one hectare, to the purchase of three or four hectares, all the other peasants possess each his three hectares, and in many instances more.

There are some peasants who have not been able to obtain the minimum of land — three hectares, and for this reason :

* The rest of the freed people are domestic servants, who became unconditionally free under the law.

† The rouble — 75 cents.

the law provided, that where the allotment of three hectares to each peasant would leave their masters less than a third of the land, the latter should have the privilege of keeping a third, while the other two-thirds were to be given up to the former, even if they should not thus receive the whole of the three hectares fixed as a minimum. In this case the interest of the purchase-money to be paid by the peasants is diminished in proportion. I myself am in this predicament. I have kept one-third of my property, and the peasants have only received two hectares and a half instead of three, and pay proportionately less interest.

One of the weak points of emancipation, is that the possession of the land is vested, not in individuals, but in communities (communes.) According to immemorial usage, all the real property occupied by individuals in the rural communities of Russia has been always and everywhere considered as belonging to the community as a whole. The members of the communities had each the right of cultivating for his own profit a certain portion of the common land. Wherever an organized administration prevailed, a tenant was allowed to hold his lease for a term of years. But in other communities, the peasants, regardless of their own interests, often changed the distribution of the lots, and thus prevented the proper cultivation and improvement of the soil.

The Emancipation Act has respected the communal tenure, and could not well have done otherwise. For, this order of things much facilitated the whole work of social reconstruction, the administration having less difficulty in dealing with the communities than with individuals. At the same time, the Act was not intended to perpetuate this tenure, and so it provided that the land of the communities could be divided among the inhabitants, if the majority of them desired it.

The inhabitants of the communities were, and continue to be treated as a whole, concerning the payment of taxes, and every other public obligation, including the liability to furnish recruits to the army.

Thus the peasantry, liberated from servitude to their masters, continue to be veritable *adscripti glebae*. They cannot separate from the communities without the formal consent of the com-

munal assembly, except on paying, according to a special clause of the Emancipation Act, their share of the interest on the Government advances for the whole period of forty-nine years.

This *adscriptio glebæ* is to cease, however, with the year 1870, when the law gives the peasants the option of separating from the community by renouncing their right to any portion of the communal lands. On renouncing the cultivable land of the communities, the peasants are entitled to their houses and vegetable gardens, by paying to the community a certain sum as purchase money. In this case the land abandoned by the peasants returns to the landed proprietor.

This power of acquiring a perfect independence is not vested in those peasants who have already by purchase acquired their lands in fee; they must remain in the community until the purchase money is entirely paid. But one-third of all the freedmen, therefore, will be able to profit by this permission of the law to separate from the community. Even of this third it is probable that as many as live on poor soil, the products of which do not repay the expense of cultivation, will not fail to give it up.

The greatest drawback to the Emancipation Act is that the peasants pay very dear for the land which has been granted them. Doubtless the land has been appraised at its real value, but that does not prevent the payment from falling very heavily on the purchasers. In other countries, where peasants have been obliged to pay for their land, the price demanded is much less. In Austria, for example, the appraisement of the rents and personal taxes has been put far below the real value. The peasant only paid a third of the sum representing the appraised value of his obligations to the proprietor; another third was paid to the proprietor by the public treasury, and the last third fell on the proprietor himself, who consequently lost it. It appears from a statistical table, showing the operation of the emancipation law in Bohemia, that a peasant, to whom thirty or thirty-five hectares of land had been granted in fields and woodland, has been discharged from further liability on paying in all only two hundred florins (one hundred dollars.)

In the kingdom of Poland the peasant, on being vested with the ownership of the land that he occupied, became subject to

the payment of double the current taxes during forty-two years. What was due to the proprietors in addition to this, was paid out of the taxes levied on the other classes in the kingdom and by the sale of the public lands.

The method of Emancipation, adopted in Prussia in 1809 under the Ministry of Baron Stein, should especially serve to instruct and guide Russia. It is Prussia which first connected emancipation of the persons, so to speak, with that of the soil. Previously only personal liberation had been thought of. A commission, composed of very able men, was appointed in that country to draw up a plan of emancipation. The celebrated historian Niebuhr belonged to it. The commission commenced its work with the peasants living on the Government lands. It was decided at first that the lands occupied by them should be granted to them in fee. But subsequently some of the commission became of the opinion that, in view of the deplorable state of the Public Treasury, it would be no more than just to require peasants to pay for the land granted to them. The question was submitted to the Prime Minister, Baron Stein, when that great statesman gave his opinion to the effect, that the Government would gain infinitely more, if the peasants, upon becoming owners of the land cultivated by them, employed their little capital in its improvement, and in increasing their general prosperity. The peasants gained their cause and received their land gratuitously. According to the plan for the emancipation of the peasants living on the land of the large proprietors, which was elaborated subsequently by the same commission, the peasants holding temporary leases (corresponding to tenure at will) were obliged to abandon to the proprietors one-half of the land which they occupied and for which they had performed task-work. In giving up this half to the proprietor, the peasant farmer freed himself from all obligation of labor or of rent. The other half, including the house, became the peasant's freehold. He obtained at the same time the right of buying the half which reverted to the proprietor; and, in order to facilitate the purchase, the Government lent him the necessary money. The hereditary peasants, whom the proprietors could not turn off, kept two-thirds instead of one-half. This plan was nobly executed by the celebrated Chancellor

Prince of Hardenberg, who succeeded Baron Stein at the head of the Prussian Ministry. To apply the Prussian method in all its details to Russia, was no doubt impossible in view of the entirely different circumstances in which the peasants of the two countries were placed. But useful lessons might have nevertheless been drawn from the Prussian example.

In Russia, for the lot of three hectares which each peasant received, he has to pay nine roubles a year for forty-nine years. If he had a son born before the last census, he received two lots and must pay eighteen roubles a year. If he has three sons, which is very common, he must pay twenty-seven roubles — a very heavy burden, considering his resources and the other taxes, amounting to nearly five roubles a head, to which he is subject. The drawbacks, which I have noticed, were the natural consequences of the adoption by the Government of the principle of conceding to the peasants lots of land, equivalent to the land they occupied as serfs, and of compelling the peasants to pay for them.

To avoid these drawbacks it would have been necessary to diminish the size of the lots about two-thirds, and to adopt the principle of their gratuitous distribution to the peasants. A gratuitous concession so moderate would only have been a decent and moderate remuneration for the gratuitous labor of the peasants during more than two centuries for the benefit of their masters. It would not have ruined these latter ; it would even have been profitable to them, for they would have found around them free men, who, not having land enough of their own to support them, would have always been disposed to work as free laborers on the property of their former lords.

If the Government, in choosing to grant small lots, had not wished to deprive the proprietors of all remuneration, it could and should have caused this indemnity to be paid out of the Public Treasury. The sum required for this purpose would have amounted, according to my calculations, to three hundred millions of roubles, wherein I include an estimate for the purchase by the Government of the whole of the lands of small proprietors.

Accident permitted me in some measure to bring my views of emancipation to a practical test. In 1859, nearly two years

before the publication of the Imperial manifesto regarding emancipation, I acquired by inheritance a landed estate in one of the most thickly settled provinces of the empire and went to take possession of it. I told my peasants I intended to make an agreement with them to settle our mutual relations for the future. The provisions of this proposed agreement I explained to them at length. The Russian Government was then already occupied with the question of emancipation. A commission had been charged with drawing up a plan. This the peasants knew; but no one knew what would be the result. Hence I felt bound to add a clause to my form of agreement, declaring that if the offer of the Government appeared to the peasants more advantageous to them, they were at liberty to accept it. Our agreement was to the following effect:

1. I renounced all my rights over the persons of the peasants, and acknowledged them to be free, as far as the law allowed.

2. I abandoned to the peasants one-third of all the communal land, including their houses and gardens.

3. The houses and gardens were to form the personal property of their actual possessors, each lot comprising about one-half a hectare. The rest of the third given up was to be the property of the community.

4. The remaining two-thirds of the estate, with the exception of my house, garden, ponds and woods, were given up to the use of the peasants. For this use, they agreed to pay me the same rent as before, viz.: twenty roubles a year for each family. On the day named for signing the agreement, I invited the Marshal of the Nobility of the district to come to my house. The peasants were all present. The agreement was read, the Marshal asked the peasants whether they gave their consent to the agreement and to all its clauses. The peasants declared that they consented, expressing at the same time their joy and gratitude. After that we signed the agreement — myself, some peasants in the name of the community, and lastly the Marshal as witness and representative of the authorities.

The difference between my agreement and the Emancipation Act was that the first granted the peasants small lots, and the second large lots. My system was as favorable as it can be in Russia to freedom of labor and domicile, while the system

adopted eventually by the Government continued to hold the peasant in many respects as a fixture to the soil, besides imposing on him an oppressive tax for the space of forty-nine years.

Still it must be admitted that there was a reason for the adoption of the system of large lots, to wit: the eager desire of the peasants to possess as much land as possible. "We belong to you," said they to their masters, "but the land belongs to us." One must not suppose, as some socialistic dreamers have said, that the peasants pretended or pretend still to the possession of all the land that they cultivate. They only wished to obtain that which they have always cultivated on their own account, and this they insisted upon. It was evident that they would have resorted even to force to obtain this land. At the same time the peasants expressed themselves always and everywhere ready to pay their master an indemnity for the land given up to them.

And here let me pay a well-earned tribute to the elevated feeling of justice and generosity which, to his everlasting honor, the Russian peasant manifested during the progress of emancipation. The idea of claiming compensation for his gratuitous labor, during two whole centuries, never occurred to him. This very noble and generous disposition on his part is ill-requited by overloading him with a heavy burden, and condemning him to carry it for forty-nine years.

N. TOURGUENEFF.

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE.

1. HOME.

EXTENSION OF PUBLIC LIBRARIES.— At the suggestion of several members, specially interested in the subject, the Association, through a Sub-Committee of experts, have undertaken a work which, it is confidently believed, will encourage and facilitate the establishment of Public Libraries throughout the Union.

The Committee will attempt for this country something analogous to what has been accomplished in France, by the Société Franklin. The Société Franklin was established in 1862 under the direction of M. M. Boussingault, Jules Simon, Ed. Laboulaye and other distinguished literary and scientific men, for the purpose of facilitating the formation of Public Libraries in France, and has been in successful operation ever since. To this end an office was opened in Paris for the collection and distribution of information likely to be of service to such enterprises, and a pamphlet issued giving some general hints as to the organization and management of Public Libraries together with a Catalogue, which might aid persons charged with the selection of books in making their choice. The Society offers to supply any of the books upon its list at a discount from the regular shop-prices, and to assist in forwarding them. It also endeavours to keep in communication with any libraries that may be established, and to make their experience available to the public and to each other. It is ready to act as an intermediary for the distribution of books which the donor may desire to devote to the public use, without having in mind any precise destination for them. In the years 1865–8, the Society supplied eighteen thousand seven hundred and nine volumes to one hundred and ninety-nine Libraries, and also distributed gratuitously among them four thousand and thirty volumes in the period between August 1864 and May 1868, from donations made to the Society for this purpose.

In imitating the action of the Société Franklin, so far as the example is applicable here, the Committee avails itself of the special experience of one of its members, Mr. Justin Winsor, Superintendent of the Boston Public Library, and of other gentlemen, and also of a great mass of information upon all matters connected with library

management, collected by Mr. Winsor, through means of a circular addressed to various libraries throughout the country and also in Canada and in Europe. Its immediate purpose is to issue a pamphlet containing some suggestions which may be of use in the formation and management of Libraries and also a specimen list of books, to be hereafter modified and enlarged, as experience may dictate, with the prices at which they may be obtained. The hope of the Committee is that a Central Bureau may thus be established under the charge of the Association, to which all persons seeking information upon this subject may apply with the confident expectation of finding here brought together and available for use the experience of the whole country and of foreign countries, and an opportunity of comparing opinions with others similarly interested. The suggestions and Catalogue referred to are now in course of preparation, and it is hoped that they will be ready for distribution before the close of the year.

ART IN EDUCATION.—Another Special Committee, appointed under the auspices of the Association, has been considering for some time the question “How to promote a better taste among our people.” After much deliberation, a definite plan has been adopted, by which, it is thought, this object can be realized.

A list is to be prepared of ten or twelve of the Antique Marbles, which, by the common consent of mankind, are acknowledged to be the best, or among the best, works produced by human art. In order to make this list as perfect as possible, it was deemed desirable to obtain the advice of recognized authorities on Art in various countries. For this purpose, the Committee have entered upon a correspondence with Messrs. Kaulbach and Steinhauser of Germany, M. Couture of France, and the Director of the Kensington Museum in England. Italian Masters will also be consulted, as well as the best authorities in our own country. A comparison of opinions, thus obtained, will, it is believed, enable the Committee to make up as perfect a list as can be devised.

The list being prepared, the Committee propose to put up, in some public school of one of our larger cities, fac-simile plaster casts of the works selected, not as models for drawing only, but as a means of developing, through the constant contemplation of types of perfect beauty, a better taste, in general, among the rising generation.

A petition will soon be presented to the government of one of our principal cities, for the use of a hall or halls in a large school-building, now in course of construction, for this purpose. All that will be asked of the municipal authorities in question, is, that the hall or

halls be put in the proper condition of light and color. It is intended to present the casts to the City agreeing to this.

In carrying out this plan the Committee will necessarily come into correspondence with the workers in plaster in many countries, and they intend to avail of the opportunity to procure lists, photographs, and prices current of their works for the benefit of those who may desire to use them.

The Committee entertain the firm conviction that no better means to improve the popular taste can be adopted than a more general introduction among the people of plaster casts of master-works, which, by their cheapness, are accessible to all.

ILLINOIS NORMAL SCHOOL SYSTEM.—To the State of Massachusetts belongs the honor of establishing the first Normal School in the United States. Led by her example about twenty other States have now made a beginning in providing for the professional training of teachers. But until recently no State had seriously undertaken the development of a *System of Normal Schools*, capable of supplying with competent teachers all the Public Schools of every grade, both in rural districts and in cities. Illinois has, however, now taken the lead in the solution of this difficult and important problem in a way which seems to promise entire success.

The State Normal University at Bloomington was established in 1857, and so rapidly has been its growth, that, in point of numbers, it already stands first among the Normal Schools of the country, while in respect to thoroughness and efficiency it is probably second to none. It has made itself felt especially by creating a large demand for professionally trained teachers—a demand far greater than it could supply. Seeing the superior success of the teachers educated for their work in this institution, the educators of the State took the ground that means ought to be provided as speedily as possible for the special education of all teachers. The State Board of Education, the Chief Superintendent of Public Instruction, the President of the Normal University, and the County Superintendents of Schools seem to be in perfect accord in regard to this matter. The general idea of the plan, which has already taken definite shape, is to reorganize the course of instruction in the Normal University by cutting off all rudimentary work, and raising the standard of requirements so as to make of it a Normal Seminary of high grade; and to establish in each County a Normal School of a lower grade, which shall become to the Central School what the High School or Academy is to the College. The County Normal Schools are to be established, main-

tained and managed by the County authorities, the civil organization of Illinois being such as to render the execution of this plan practicable and easy. The leading objects sought to be accomplished by County Normal Schools are thus summed up by the Superintendent in his last Report: "They are to secure, with the least possible delay, better qualified teachers for the Common District Schools of the respective counties; to bring the advantages of a professional training near to the homes of as many teachers as possible, thus increasing the number of those who will attend, and reducing the expense; to meet the case of the very large number who intend to teach but a short time, by enabling them, through briefer courses of study, to fit themselves for teaching the common branches, by a thorough review of those branches, together with the best methods of teaching them; to establish what will be, in effect, a perpetual local institute of a high order, which teachers can attend a few months in the year, or when their Schools are not in session, and more thoroughly prepare themselves for their work."

These objects cannot but commend themselves to the judgment of all. The movement was begun by Professor John F. Eberhart, the able School Superintendent of Cook County, by whose persevering efforts the first County Normal School was established at Blue Island, near Chicago. The success of the experiment attracted the notice of the press, and of teachers and friends of Common Schools in other parts of the State. Peoria and Bureau Counties soon followed the example of Cook; and in a number of other counties initiatory steps have been taken towards the opening of Normal Schools under the auspices of the County authorities. In some of these short sessions of from four to six weeks have already been held.

At the last annual meeting of the State Association of County Superintendents of Schools, a Committee from that body was appointed to petition the Legislature for the additional legislation deemed necessary to give full powers to the County Supervisors to levy and collect County taxes, for the support of County Normal Schools, and to appoint County Boards of Education to control and manage such schools, and to provide for the uniting of two or more counties for the establishment of a Normal School, should it be found desirable in some cases to do so. The State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Hon. Newton Bateman, one of the foremost educators in the country, has entered into this movement with much zeal, in the full belief that it affords the most feasible solution of the great problem of a supply of better teachers. From present indica-

eations, it appears probable that the hundred counties of the State will soon be engaged in a sharp competition for Normal Schools.

We call attention to this movement as one of national importance in the hope that other States will be aroused to a sense of the necessity and the feasibility of taking measures to provide trained teachers for all Schools through the instrumentality of a comprehensive system of Normal Schools of different grades.

TEACHERS' CERTIFICATES IN CALIFORNIA. — To make a system of public instruction entirely successful, it is necessary to provide — first, for educating teachers; and second, for testing their qualifications. Illinois, as shown above, is evidently taking the lead in fulfilling the former condition; but, as to the latter, the State of California is clearly the foremost. In no other State are the legal provisions for the examination of teachers so comprehensive and complete, and in no other State have the laws relating to the qualifications of teachers been administered with so much vigor and success.

Three distinct Boards for the examination of teachers, have been created in the State. First, there is the State Board of Examination, consisting of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, who is *ex officio* chairman, and four professional teachers appointed by the Superintendent. This Board must hold at least two sessions in each year, and it has power to grant Certificates of the following grades, which are valid throughout the State: Educational Diplomas valid for six years; Certificates of the first grade, valid for four years; Certificates of the second grade, valid for two years; and Certificates of the third grade, valid for one year. And “in order to elevate the profession of teaching and advance the interests of Public Schools,” this Board may grant teachers Life Diplomas, which shall remain valid during the life of the holder, unless revoked for immoral or unprofessional conduct, or want of qualifications to teach. But this most honorable Diploma can be granted only to such persons as shall have, after receiving the State Diploma, taught successfully one year, or for the same period held the office of State, City, or County Superintendent.

Next in order are the County Boards of Examination, composed of the County Superintendent, who is *ex officio* Chairman, and of teachers, not exceeding three, appointed by him. This Board must hold a session at least as often as once in three months, and also at and during any teachers' institute held in the county. The Superintendent of Public Instruction is *ex officio* a member of

all the County Boards of Examination. This Board has power to grant three grades of certificates valid in the County, the first for three years, the second for two years, and the third for one year.

Finally, there are City Boards of Examination. In every city having a Board of Education governed by special laws, there is a Board for determining the qualifications of teachers, which consists of the City Superintendent, the President of the Board of Education, the County Superintendent of the County in which the city is situated, and three Public School teachers, residents of such city, who are elected by the Board of Education for one year. This Board is empowered to grant Certificates of the same grades and for the same time as the State Board, but valid only in the city in which they are granted. This Board is, however, not authorized to require an examination of a teacher who already holds a State Diploma or Certificate, unless such teacher is an applicant for a school of a higher grade than the Certificate held allows such teacher to teach. Any City Board may recognize the Certificates of any other city.

The State Board is also empowered to prescribe a standard of proficiency before a County Board, compliance with which shall entitle the holder of the certificate to a certificate from the State Board, upon due certification of the facts by the County Superintendent.

Another wise provision in the school-law of California, calculated to elevate the profession of teaching and give it an honorable status by the side of other learned professions, is in these words: "All regularly issued State Normal School Diplomas from any State Normal School in the United States, and all Life Diplomas granted by the State Board of Examination in any of the United States, shall be recognized by the State Board of Examination of this State as *prima facie* evidence of fitness for the profession of teaching; and the said Board shall, on application of the holders thereof, proceed to issue, without examination, State Certificates, the grade to be fixed at the option of the Board; *provided*, in all cases satisfactory evidence be given of good moral character and correct habits."

This just and liberal provision stands out in marked contrast to the unjust and illiberal policy of Massachusetts, which makes the best graduates of her Normal Schools liable to be examined by any Town School Committee before they can become legal teachers in the State.

The State Superintendent of California, in his Report for 1864-65, says, "Unless a high standard (of qualifications of teachers,) is established and carefully enforced, there is no security for the efficiency of

the Public Schools. Incompetent teachers may nullify all legislation, and degrade the character of our Public Schools. In no other way than by thorough State examinations, is it possible to form an earnest and capable *corps* of professional teachers in the State." In his Report for 1866-67, he gives a catalogue of the names, residences, positions and salaries of all the holders of State Diplomas and Certificates of the several grades, in order to give them, as far as possible, the official recognition of the Department. From this list it appears that, up to January 1st, 1867, there had been granted forty-six State Life Diplomas, ninety-four State Educational Diplomas, one hundred and fifty-seven first grade, one hundred and two second grade, and thirty-three third grade Certificates.

The effect of these admirable provisions has been to create among the teachers of California a stronger *esprit du corps*, a higher sense of the dignity and importance of their profession, and more enterprize in fitting themselves for their work, than are found among the teachers of any other State. It is but just to add that the credit of thus placing California in the van of all the other States of the Union in this vital respect belongs almost wholly to Hon. John Swett, the late Superintendent of Public Instruction, whose herculean labors for the cause of Education, entitle him to a place among the foremost of American educators. This able man, the Horace Mann of the great Pacific State, having been rotated out of office by party politics, with an almost unparalleled devotion to his profession has taken the position of Principal of a Grammar School in the City of San Francisco.

PRESERVATION OF INFANT LIFE. — The following suggestions on this topic, are offered by Mr. Sanborn, in the fifth Report of the Massachusetts Board of Charities.

1. Much of the mortality among infants of all classes is easily preventable, and is actually prevented, even with delicate children, in families where they are carefully nursed.

2. Among motherless infants the amount of preventable mortality is relatively greater than in any other class; it is now more largely beyond the minimum rate than in any other class of infants.

3. This last named mortality can be reduced by the establishment of Foundling Hospitals, as is shown by the experience of nearly every European country, and of the City of New York. But,

4. It cannot be reduced to a minimum except by introducing a system radically different from that of the Foundling Hospital; namely, by placing these infants in actual families, receiving only one

at a time, and giving each infant the care and nursing that our own children receive.

5. Between these two extremes, the great Foundling Hospital and the Family System reduced to its lowest terms — the numerator being one baby and the denominator one nursing woman — stands the Asylum or Mixed Family System, such as has been adopted at Paris, at Dublin, at Berlin, and in the Massachusetts Infant Asylum. This requires a receptacle for motherless infants, which may also be a Home, but which is never to contain more than twenty or thirty infants at once, and, if possible, never half so many, the others being given out for adoption or placed at nurse in good motherly hands.

6. The tendency in all civilized countries is toward the Family System, through first, the Foundling Hospital, and second, the Asylum or Home System; and the mortality among infants of this class is reduced from 90 or 95 per cent. under the old no-system, to from 40 to 60 per cent. in well-managed Foundling Hospitals; from 30 to 50 per cent. in good Asylums, and from 20 to 35 per cent. in good single families, the last being scarcely above the normal death-rate of all infants.

7. The effect of any good system of preserving these neglected lives is to increase the apparent number of illegitimate births, and greatly to increase the number of such children who survive infancy. But there is no good ground for believing that fornication is thus increased, while it is well known that abortion and infanticide are considerably diminished by a better provision for these infants.

8. That there are many diseased and worthless infant lives which can never be preserved, is true; but these should be allowed to go back to the God who gives and takes away life without having death hastened by our neglect.

9. That the most precious of all increase is that of human lives, and that none better deserves the wise protection of the State.

10. In fine, it is the duty of the State to provide by law for the better care of motherless infants by directing that the Overseers of the Poor and the State Officials shall in all possible cases place such infants in private families to be nursed; and failing that, in small establishments where they may receive individual care; while the small residue who reach the larger public institutions should be tenderly nurtured under special regulations.

ASYLUMS FOR THE INSANE. — A year ago, among the visitors at several of our Asylums for the Insane, Inebriate and Idiot, was Dr. Frederic Morton Manning, a Commissioner of the South Australian

Government to inspect Asylums for the Insane in Europe and America, and to report on the general treatment of insanity. His Report has been printed for the Government at Sydney; it is a blue book of some three hundred octavo pages, with many plans annexed, and is written after visits made by Dr. Manning in 1867 and 1868, to twenty-five asylums in England, nine in Scotland, fourteen in the United States, nine in France, six in Belgium, four in Germany, and one in Holland, besides many lunatic wards in British poorhouses. The information thus obtained in regard to the treatment of lunatics, their diet, employment, etc., the architecture of Asylums, their inspection and general regulation, is here set forth concisely and conveniently. He reports that restraints are much more common in the American than the English Asylums, and still more frequent in France than here. He visited Gheel, and bears testimony to the general good management of the Insane there; he also speaks of the Scotch practice of boarding the Insane in private houses, and finds much to commend in it. It does not seem to be gaining ground in Scotland, however, and though a similar practice has been recommended by the Massachusetts Board of Charities for adoption in that State, no action in that direction has been taken. In respect to Gheel, Dr. Manning seems to hold a middle ground between those who praise and those who disparage that remarkable Belgian village, where, for several centuries the Insane have been received as boarders in private families. It is attracting much notice, just now, having lately been described by Dr. S. G. Howe, Dr. Merriek Bemis, and other American physicians; by a French writer, M. Duval, and by the author of a recent English book, called "*Flemish Interiors*." The latter has called forth long reviews in the *Athenæum* and other widely circulated journals in England. Those who were present at the meeting of our Association in New York, in November, 1867, will remember the interesting account given of Gheel by Dr. Howe. Dr. Manning's account is much the same in its statements, but he does not take as hopeful a view of the application of the Gheel system in other countries as Dr. Howe does, and believes it quite inapplicable in Australia. Of the good results of the American Asylums for the Inebriate and Schools for the Idiot, Dr. Manning speaks warmly. He visited Dr. Day's Asylum at Binghampton, and praises Dr. Day, as do all who know him.

FREE MARKETS.—If there is any one subject upon which all minds will agree in this country, it is the exorbitance of the ruling prices for the necessaries of life. The present high cost of living constitutes, indeed, a grinding burden upon all classes of society and

affects the material and moral condition of the poorer portion of the people to a lamentable and dangerous degree. Hence it is a matter of the greatest importance, that such reforms be brought about in our economic relations as will at least afford relief from that part of this positive evil, which cannot be attributed to the effects of an inflated currency and to excessive taxation. With this view the following project, prepared by some public-spirited members — practical business men — of this Association, is submitted, as bearing upon one of the direct sources of high prices, viz.: the selling monopolies, existing in the public markets of our larger cities, and the exactions of the middle-men, who intervene between the producers and the consumers.

The principal features of the project are :

1. To organize companies under corporation-charters with capital to the amount of one hundred thousand to two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, with a constitutional limitation of dividends to six or seven per cent.

2. To lease or erect suitable buildings in central locations with arrangements for the sale of market-produce in the basement, on the ground floor and the first floor above.

3. To have the principal officers of the market consist of an Executive Board, Treasurer, and Business Managers, with proper assistants.

4. To invite producers to consign all such products as may be approved of by the Executive Board to the markets, to be sold for their benefit for such small commission as will be requisite to cover the expenses of sale and insure the payment of the fixed interest on the capital invested.

5. To have each day's prices regulated by a Committee, composed of producers and the officers of the companies ; but to allow at the same time the consignors, if they so elect, to mark their goods at less than the established price.

6. To allow all consignors to advertise their names and residence as the producers by cards placed with their productions. This with a view to associating the names of producers in the minds of consumers with the relative quality of the product.

7. To permit consignors to assist, under proper restrictions, in the sale of their products.

8. To pay the salesmen and saleswomen, assistant-cashiers, and other employés by salary or by commission on sales or both, and to control them by the safest check-to-dishonesty system known in mercantile practice.

9. To make the markets attractive by enforcing the most scrupulous neatness and cleanliness, and keeping out all improper characters.

10. To hire or own one or more railway cars and run the same daily or oftener, by regular specified trains, along the most suitable routes, and to let the public know that such car or cars will receive any products of marketable quality, properly marked and invoiced, for transportation to the market. This in order to save the producers the great expense of sending special wagons to market, and enable them to give their whole time to production. Such an arrangement, it is thought, would also enable producers, residing at greater distance, to compete with those nearer to cities.

11. To discharge the products, thus collected, either directly at the markets, by running the cars of the companies to them, or by means of wagons owned by the companies.

12. To let all sales be for cash on delivery, and to collect an extra fee for the delivery of articles at the residences of purchasers.

13. To establish branches of the principal markets in small, neat store-rooms in the different sections of cities, in charge of women, with young men as assistants, and for the sale of a portion — say milk, fruits, vegetables and the like — at least of the articles found at the main depot. The employé's of such branch markets could receive orders for any articles sold in the central market and transmit them to the latter by the use of special telegraph wires, when they should be filled with the least possible delay.

14. To make arrangements with street railway companies to receive orders for the central market in special boxes affixed to each car, run in and out of cities, which orders could be collected quite readily as each car passed its central station and carried to their destination.

15. To devote part of the space of the market-building to the sale of garden-flowers in the same way as market-produce. In this manner the inmates — especially children — of public institutions might be profitably and agreeably employed both in raising flowers and in preparing them for the market.

16. To employ part of the capital of the companies in both purchasing products in large quantities in distant places and contracting for the productions of staple articles.

Steps will be taken by the Association to test the practicability of the above scheme.

EUROPEAN EMIGRATION. — The subject of encouraging the emigration to this country of persons of the middle-classes, who have become impoverished in consequence of any cause and who have no chance of bettering their circumstances at home, has, of late, had the serious consideration of philanthropic Societies and individuals in

London and elsewhere. The British and Colonial Emigration Society is about taking some action in aid of emigration to the United States, and the British Government, through Mr. Goschen, the President of the Poor Law Board, has announced its intention to grant assistance to British subjects intending to emigrate. Moreover, a spontaneous movement, looking to the emigration of skilled laborers on a large scale, has been set on foot within the last few months among the working population of districts, which have hitherto contributed but a small percentage to the yearly efflux from Great Britain to the United States.

In view of these facts, and of the impositions and hardships of every description experienced by emigrants on landing in this country from want of proper information, it has been suggested that this Association could do a very humane work by undertaking the compilation of a *vade-mecum* for the use of emigrants. After due consideration, the conclusion was reached that such an undertaking, from its tendency to increase the economic forces of the country, would fairly come within the legitimate sphere of the labors of the Association, and the work has been taken in hand by the Executive Officers.

Their plan is to compile, for publication, with the aid of competent members of the Association and others, a guide-book containing, in concise form, all desirable information in regard to the cost and the best time and mode of crossing the Atlantic; the relative advantages of landing in different ports; the organic and statute laws of the Union and the several States; the philanthropic provisions on this side for the benefit of emigrants; the dangers incurred on landing; the cost of living; the chances of finding employment and the rates of wages in the Eastern States; the expense of reaching the interior; the material and other inducements held out to the various classes of emigrants in the different sections of the country,—in short, whatever may serve best to instruct and guide those that come to the States to better their fortunes.

None but perfectly disinterested and absolutely reliable information is to be included in the proposed guide-book. It is intended, moreover, to submit the compilation to authorities as well as to individuals, commanding the public confidence, both in this country and Great Britain and to obtain their formal endorsements for it.

If the plan of the Association can be successfully carried out with regard to emigration from Great Britain, it will be extended to emigration from other European countries, particularly Germany.

FINANCIAL ASPECTS OF THE UNITED STATES.—The external financial relations and the internal economical condition of this

country present at this juncture as curious and interesting problems, perhaps, as were ever presented by any country at any time. Externally the United States seem to occupy the position of a very wealthy young spend-thrift, who is having constant recourse to the Jews. Importing annually far in excess of our exports — fifty seven millions of dollars in gold, for instance, in the last few months, — the balance is paid in paper securities bearing a large interest and sold at an enormous discount. Two contingencies may at any time put a stop to this process, — either the refusal of Europe to “shave” any more American paper, which would be equivalent to a demand for future balances in gold, or a serious foreign complication whether involving this country or not. Either contingency must lead to a drain of gold to Europe, and a return by the ship-load of evidences of indebtedness to this country. From a purely theoretical point of view, therefore, it is difficult to see on what principles a gradual and steady return to specie payments can be anticipated. The exhaustion of those securities which Europe is willing to buy, or the death of any one or two or three leading public men, might send gold up again to war prices and prove, in a way other than gradual contraction, the beginning of the end.

Internally the problem is still more intricate. The country, thanks to its youth and native vigor, is producing immensely under conditions which would put a stop to productions anywhere else. Yet there is no business done so legitimate as not to have its basis in gambling on the price of gold. The enormous creation of new wealth insures us against anything like permanent ruin, though it cannot avert a crash. On the other hand the gambling mania, incident to such a basis of trade made necessary, has largely perverted the capital of the country from legitimate business, and “it is scarcely possible to avoid the inference that nearly one-half of the available resources of the National Banks in the City of New York are used in the operations of the stock and gold exchange.” Under this stimulus the great transportation lines of the country are rapidly passing into the hands of a few cliques, who manipulate the securities confided to their trust for their private emolument. Wall Street is indeed at this time the most notable gambling establishment the world has yet seen. The professionals engaged there decoy into it the outside public, as it is called, for purposes of plunder, and, from time to time, fall out among themselves and rend and destroy each other by “pools,” “corners,” “lockings-up,” and other like devices. This condition of affairs cannot endure, — it must either wear itself out or it will wear out the country.

Such are a few of the elements which enter into a problem which seems ever to turn on the falacies of paper money. More interesting questions could not present themselves, if an observer were only at hand patient enough and comprehensive enough to grasp and combine them all, and to give the result to the American people reduced to a few simple principles.

PRISON DISCIPLINE.—The administration of penal justice is one of the most important departments of the public service, affecting, as it does, the rights of property, the safety of society, the security of human life, the maintenance of social order, and the purity of the public manners. It is, therefore, a just subject of gratulation that there has, of late, both at home and abroad, been awakened a fresh interest in the question of prison discipline and prison reform. The press, from the stately quarterly to the many-sided daily, gives token of this revival of interest. So does the recent formation of prison discipline societies in different parts of the country. The same is true of the appointment of special commissions by several of the States, as Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Kentucky and California, to devise improved prison systems to be proposed for the action of their respective Legislatures.

There are five classes of penal and correctional institutions in the United States,—the Station-house, County Jail, House of Correction, State Prison, and Juvenile Reformatory.

The Station-houses are the most numerous and the worst managed of all our prisons. A writer in the *North American Review* has well said that the Howard of this class of prisons has not yet arisen. There is certainly much need of his appearance. The detention here ranges from an hour to a week, the average being probably less than a day. But is long enough to do infinite mischief.

The County Jails in the United States are probably more than one thousand in number. A few of them are well constructed and well managed; but it is otherwise with the great majority. Insecurity, scant accommodations, bad ventilation, vermin, defective separation of the sexes, forced idleness, the absence of all means of mental improvement, little religious instruction, and, above all, the promiscuous and corrupting association of the prisoners, are among the most prominent defects and imperfections of our common jails.

The House of Correction—called in some of the States Work-house, Penitentiary, or Bridewell—holds an intermediate place between the County Jail and the State Prison. This class of prisons is found in but few States, as Massachusetts, New York, and Michigan.

They are designed for the reception and treatment of misdemeanants, There are several among them that may be pronounced admirable institutions. Three stand preëminent, having a national reputation — the Albany Penitentiary and the Houses of Correction at Boston and Detroit.

Our Juvenile Reformatories — called in some States House of Refuge, in others Reform School — are institutions, in commendation of which it would be difficult to go too far. They are found in all the Northern, Middle and Western, but few in the Southern States. The aggregate number of criminal children received into them is between fifty thousand and sixty thousand. Of this number, from seventy-five to eighty per cent. have been discharged reformed, making a total of at least forty thousand now pursuing a virtuous career, the greater part of whom, but for these noble institutions, would have gone to swell the ranks of crime.

The highest class of prisons, and those on which the public eye is most turned, are the State Prisons, to which convicted felons are committed. We have examined the Reports for 1867 of all such of these institutions as have issued Reports. Two things have afforded special gratification in this examination — the improved character of the Reports, and the evidence they afford of an advance of sound principles.

The financial administration of the State Prisons offers an interesting study. The average number of inmates in thirty-four of these prisons was thirteen thousand four hundred and ninety-six. The aggregate expenditure in twenty-six of them was one million nine hundred and thirty-one thousand four hundred and fifty dollars, giving a cost *per capita* of one hundred and seventy-seven dollars. Their total earnings were one million ninety-two thousand six hundred and eighty dollars, giving an average gain of one hundred and twenty-three dollars. If all the prisons had been as economically managed as those of Connecticut and Ohio, in which the cost per man was less than one hundred and twenty dollars, they would not only be self-supporting, but would have earned a net profit of more than one hundred thousand dollars. Six of the prisons embraced in the statement earned a surplus over expenditures amounting, in the aggregate, to seventy-five thousand seven hundred and seventy-three dollars; and in about an equal number, the income from earnings was nearly equal to the cost of support.

There is one fact revealed in the Reports, which has a melancholy interest; it is that nearly one-fourth of the inmates of the State Prisons of the country are minors. In one prison the propor-

tion is nearly fifty per cent., and in several it is either over or but little under thirty per cent. This fact has turned the thoughts of benevolent and thinking men to the policy of separate prisons for this class of offenders ; prisons which might be properly made to assume the character more of a well-conducted farm or work-house school than of an ordinary prison. The Legislature of New York has already made a movement in this direction. A bill to authorize the Government to appoint Commissioners to select a site and propose an organization for a State Industrial Reformatory for the treatment of young criminals, from sixteen to twenty-one, has passed the Senate, and is likely to pass the Assembly. There is every probability that this bill will become a law, and if it should, there is an equal probability that it will be a new and most important point of departure in the progress of prison reform.

It is quite evident, from the Reports examined by us, that there is a growing favor towards the Irish or Crofton system of prison discipline, as the knowledge of that system is extended. There appears to be a steady progress towards its adoption — not probably in all its details, but at least in its general principles. Our best thinkers and workers in this cause are coming to be more and more in accord with that noble British Philanthropist, Miss Mary Carpenter, who says : “The Crofton principle is the only true one, and must eventually be accepted by all who desire to inaugurate a really reformatory system.”

CENSUS OF 1870. — Perhaps the most important function, to be exercised by the Government of the United States in the immediate future, is the taking of the Decennial Census in the coming year. This may strike those, who have given little reflection to the subject, as a rather bold assertion. But, when it is borne in mind, that the impending Census is to furnish the basis not only for the whole fiscal, but also for much of the political legislation of Congress during the next decade, the statement will perhaps not be considered extravagant. Impressed with the importance of awaking in our legislators as well as the public at large a sense of the great consequence of the vast statistical enterprise about being undertaken under national auspices, we deem it well to reprint the remarks, with which Hon. Jas. A. Garfield of Ohio, as Chairman of the Special Committee on the Census accompanied the introduction on April 6th, of a bill “To provide for the taking of the ninth and subsequent Census.” The philosophic view he takes of the subject and his emphatic recognition of the indispensability to law-makers of a thorough knowledge of Social Science prove that Congress, in placing him at the head of the Census

Committee, has for once put the right man in the right place. We may add that the Association, through the Executive Officers, have offered to coöperate with the Census Committee in improving the plan under which former Censuses were taken, and that their services have been cheerfully accepted.

Mr. Garfield said: "Mr. Speaker, I am quite sure that I cannot overrate the importance of any bill which this House may pass to provide for taking the next Census, nor can I hope in the thirty minutes granted me to discuss it worthily. I can do no more than indicate some of the leading points connected with the work, and touch upon the principles on which it rests. But for the pressure of business which now crowds the closing days of the session I should insist on a full discussion of the whole subject, but I yield to necessity and ask the House not to judge the measure by my support of it. It is a noteworthy fact that the Constitution of the United States is the only one among modern Governments that provides for the taking of a Census of the population at regular intervals. Other nations have established some method of taking statistical account of their people, but in ours alone, I believe, is a Census made the very basis of the Government itself. The fact is also significant as indicating the tendency of modern civilization to find the basis and source of power in the people, rather than in dynasties or in any special theories of government. It is a declaration that the population of the country are the great source of wealth as well as of power. Our wealth is found not so much in the veins of rich minerals that fill the earth as the purple veins of our free citizens. Placing this high value on human nature, our fathers wisely required that at every period of ten years we should make out anew the muster-roll and ascertain the condition and strength of the great army of civilization which they started on its grand march across the centuries. This age is preëminently distinguished by the fact that it recognizes more fully than any other the reign of law; that not physical nature alone, but man and great communities of men, are modified and controlled by laws which are as old as creation. It is a part of that great reform which Bacon applied to science and which modern nations are applying to politics. Before Bacon's time, if a man desired to write about the solar system he sat down in his closet and evolved from his own mind his theory of the universe. He framed a plan for nature, and then tried to bend her facts to suit his theory. But the new system of philosophy changed all this. It taught the man of science that he must become like a little child and sit at the feet of nature and learn of her, and that only by a patient and humble study of facts and phenomena could he dis-

cover the laws by which the universe is governed. In such studies man must be a discoverer, not an inventor. By slow degrees have mankind come to know that law pervades the universe of mind as well as of matter; and latest of all have they come to the knowledge that men and nations must be studied, and all the social and political forces of a nation must be examined with the same care that the man of science studies nature before we can frame wise and salutary laws for the government of its people. All attempts of philosophers to form ideal theories of government have been utter failures. Neither Plato's ideal republic, More's Utopia, nor John Locke's plan of government would ever have been tolerated a day in any nation of the earth. These writers were building kingdoms in the realms of the imagination, not on the earth. Men of ancient times resembled rather the German philosopher of whom it is said that if he was called upon to describe a camel he would evoke a description of that animal from his consciousness. The modern method would be to photograph the camel or dissect him, and learn from actual observation rather than from the suggestion of the 'inner consciousness.' The spirit of our times is far different.

"When we propose to legislate for great masses of people we must first study the great facts relating to the people; their number, strength, length of life, intelligence, morality, occupation, industry, and wealth, for out of these spring the glory or the shame, the prosperity or the ruin of a nation. That provision of our Constitution requires us to record and consider these great facts and to make them the basis of our legislation. I believe the time is coming, and indeed is almost here, when the man who comes into this Hall as a legislator for the people must come not merely with theories, but furnished with material facts which exhibit the condition, wants, wealth, industry, and tendencies of the people for whom he proposes to legislate, or he will be powerless to serve their higher wants. The black-letter learning of the law will not suffice. He must study the laws which the Creator has written in the hearts of men, and in the continents which they inhabit, if he would know how to legislate for a great nation.

"This is the age of statistics, Mr. Speaker. The word 'statistics' itself did not exist until 1749, whence we date the beginning of a new science on which modern legislation must be based in order to be permanent. The treatise of Achenwall, the German professor who originated the word, laid the foundations of many of the greatest reforms in modern legislation. Statistics are State facts, facts for the consideration of statesmen, such as they may not neglect with safety. It has been truly said that 'statistics are history in repose; history is

statistics in motion.' If we neglect the one we shall deserve to be neglected by the other. The legislator without statistics is like the mariner at sea without a compass. Nothing can safely be committed to his guidance. A question of fearful importance, the well-being of this Republic, has agitated this House for many weeks. It is this: are our rich men growing richer and our poor growing poorer? And how can this most vital question be settled except by the most careful and honest examination of the facts? Who can doubt that the next Census will reveal to us more important truths concerning the situation of our people than any Census ever taken by any nation? By what standard could we measure the value of a complete, perfect record of the condition of the people of this country and such facts as should exhibit their burdens and their strength? Who doubts that it would be a document of inestimable value to the legislator and to the nation? How to achieve it, how to accomplish it, is the great question.'

"We are near the end of a decade which has been full of earthquakes, and amid the tumult we have lost our reckoning; we do not yet comprehend the stupendous changes through which we have passed, nor can we until the whole field is resurveyed. If a thousand volcanoes had been bursting beneath the ocean, the mariner would need new charts before he could safely sail the seas again. We are soon to set out on our next decade with a thousand new elements thrown in upon us by the war. The way is trackless, who shall pilot us? The war repealed a part of our venerable Census Law. One schedule was devoted to slaves. Thank God! it is useless now. Old things have passed away and a multitude of new things are here to be recorded, and not only the things to be taken but the manner of taking them requires a thorough remodelling at our hands. If this Congress does not worthily meet the demands of this great occasion, every member must bear no small share of the odium that justly attaches to men who fail to discharge duties of momentous importance, which once neglected can never be performed."

HOW TO OBSERVE THE UNITED STATES. — The Association have appointed a Committee to consider the preparation of a guide to the observation of the United States. It is believed that such a work is especially appropriate, thorough and pertinent observation being essential to Social as to any other Science. Such a guide is much needed, not only by foreigners, but by ourselves. It is the work of time, labor, and patient thought. * But it is one, which this Association, with its various departments, its Committees in the larger

cities, and the intelligent and earnest men which it seems to be so happily drawing into its service, is fully competent to undertake.

We will refer to a few of the objects embraced within this scheme.

1. Physical Geography of the country:—Lists of surveys, national and State reports, and collections of objects upon which such reports are based. 2. History:—Lists of historical and archæological societies and collections; sources of information as to the first settlers in the country and their subsequent movements; later immigration, and its distribution. 3. Education, direct and indirect:—Lists of the authorities upon public schools; of representative schools; of universities, colleges, and special schools; public libraries; lecture system and the press. 4. Public Health:—including all sanitary boards and movements, parks, baths, industrial dwellings and the inspection of food; all reports, public and private, upon hygienic questions. 5. Economy, Trade, and Finance:—Lists of writers of the different schools, boards of trade, statistical societies, national and State reports on commerce, manufactures, and agriculture. 6. Government:—Organization of National and State Governments, and their respective bureaus, including legislation and judicial procedures; prisons and reformatories; charitable institutions.

2. FOREIGN.

ART-SCHOOL FOR WOMEN.—In Germany, as in almost every other civilized country, the necessity of opening new fields of useful and remunerative labor to women is more and more felt. Various movements have of late been inaugurated in that country with a view to meeting this want of the age. In Berlin, a permanent exhibition of products of women's labor has been established in order to secure better prices and increase the demand for them. The "Bazaar," as the exhibition is called, commands liberal patronage, and has produced the desired effect to a considerable extent. In the same city an institution, intended to furnish women with an opportunity for obtaining a secondary education, has recently been opened under the

auspices of some of the first educators of the kingdom. A similar institution is about to be organized in Stuttgart. In Munich, about a year ago, a number of public spirited persons of both sexes, belonging to the upper circles of society, united to bring about the opening of an "Art-School for Women." Their efforts were successful, and the school is now in full operation. In their appeal for aid in starting the institution the founders say :

"The necessity in the present condition of society of providing young women of the middle classes with new means of earning a respectable and sufficient livelihood is perceived by all intelligent minds. Social statistics go to show the constant increase of women in necessitous circumstances, and unless this class are enabled, by more comprehensive and thorough instruction in various branches of human knowledge and practical activity, to support themselves, this evil will increase to the detriment of both state and society. It is our sincere conviction, that Art and of its various branches especially Painting holds out to talented young women the promise of a new and lucrative pursuit."

The friends of the undertaking organized themselves into a regular Association with a Constitution and By-laws. Article I. of the former says: The object of this Association shall be to provide young women with new means of self-support, by enabling them, through thorough instruction in Art, to become (a.) artists (if possessing the proper talent;) (b.) teachers of drawing of a higher order; (c.) designers for industrial establishments; (d.) assistants in photographic ateliers. Another article provides that applicants for admission must be at least fifteen years old, and that they shall be admitted only after the Executive Committee have satisfied themselves by due examination of their fitness.

The following extracts from the regulations will explain the mode of instruction adopted for the school:

Art. 1. The school consists of—

1. A class in drawing, with two subdivisions: (a.) ornamental drawing and drawing from animal life; (b.) drawing of heads and figures from plaster casts, and of landscape studies.

2. A class in advanced drawing and painting divided into sections (a.) for oil painting; (b.) for painting in water-colors, especially in its application to industrial purposes.

3. Of regular lectures on the History of Art in general, and of ornamentation in special, and on Perspective.

Instruction is given by artists of distinction for the low charge of twenty-five florins or ten dollars per annum.

FRENCH VIEWS OF HIGHER EDUCATION. 1. *The Scholar's*.— (From "Questions Contemporaines" by Ernest Renan, 1868.)

"Higher instruction is the source of primary instruction. To sacrifice the first to the second is to commit a mistake, to defeat the object in view. The refusal of a million to high culture may stop short the intellectual movement of a country; the grant of a million to primary instruction will be of little effect. Very different sacrifices are required for the improvement of popular instruction. Primary instruction is complete in a country only when the enlightened class of the nation claims it, understands it, and sees its expediency and justice. Labor to create superior classes which are animated by a liberal spirit; otherwise you build upon the sand; the whim of an ill-disposed or unenlightened Legislature will destroy your foundations. To create a forest, it is not enough to plant it; you must secure the plants against being uprooted. As long as we have not destroyed in France this false idea that education is valuable only in respect to social position, or to the cultivation and instruction of the poor man, this is to produce in him wants and aspirations which cannot be satisfied, nothing will be definitely gained. The strength of popular instruction in Germany springs from the strength of superior education in that country. The University makes the School. It has been said that the primary teacher was the conqueror at Sadowa. Not so; the conqueror at Sadowa was German Science, German Virtue, Protestantism, Philosophy, Luther, Kant, Fichte, Hegel. The instruction of the people is an effect of the high culture of certain classes. Those countries which, like the United States, have established a general system of popular education, without any real higher instruction, will expiate this mistake for a long time to come, by their intellectual mediocrity."

2. *The Minister's*. — (From a Report on "L'Enseignement Supérieur," by M. Duruy, Minister of Public Instruction, Nov. 15, 1868.)

"Enquiry begun four years ago. — The Report upon Higher Education forms the last of the enquiry commenced four years ago upon the entire system of French Education, and completed by an analytical enquiry into the educational systems of foreign countries, for the purpose of seeking and adopting useful suggestions.

"Two-fold System. — There are, among savants and literary men, two classes, namely: those who make discoveries in science and produce works of merit in literature; and those who employ themselves in popularizing discoveries and great literary productions. To the former, the Government ought to assure, as far as its sphere extends, the best means of research; to the latter, the best opportu-

nities for instruction. The State, in France, has for a long time supplied this want of modern civilization, that is, the development of knowledge, by a two-fold agency; that of institutions with a regular course of instruction in positive science, and that of large establishments more popular in character, where science is reduced to practice.

“Necessity of Higher Education.—Among a people governed by democratic institutions, it is necessary to preserve the taste for severe studies. It is necessary to encourage and to recruit the circle of superior men whose reputation reflects glory upon the whole country and extends throughout its history. Further, the higher studies act upon the lower, and by their influence elevate and expand them.

“School of Higher Instruction.—The Imperial decrees of July 31, 1868, have been received in the scientific world with marked approval. By the opening of Laboratories of Instruction for candidates for a degree their studies will be improved. By the establishment of Laboratories of Research, men of science will have more numerous facilities for their work. By the establishment of the School of Higher Instruction, they will have diligent pupils, intelligent assistants, and future competitors. In the space of two months, and including the vacation, there have been two hundred and sixty-four applications for this school, a number which exceeds all anticipations and which I myself should consider too great, if it should not be sensibly diminished by the examination just ending, which will test the true ability of the candidates. Among them are professors, doctors, and many graduates. Some leave positions which they have gained, or return from abroad to seek admission into the new school. I find even a scholar whose name has been proposed by one of the Sections of the Institute as a candidate for the Academy of Sciences, and who designs to ask from our Laboratories of Research the means of executing works which he could not otherwise accomplish.

“In order to meet these demands, seventeen Laboratories are completed or begun. At the Sorbonne, for Vegetable Anatomy, Physics, Physiology, Mineralogy, Geology, and Chemistry. At the College of France, for Inorganic Chemistry, Organic Chemistry, and Animal Physiology. At the Museum, for Vegetable Physiology, Agricultural Chemistry, Botany, and Zoölogy. At the Normal Schools, for Physiological Chemistry. At the Medical College, for Botany and an Experimental Garden. This same school offers to its more advanced pupils Laboratories of Research for Chemistry, Pathological Anatomy, Physiology and Histology.

“The administration, desirous of enlarging the scope of Medical Science, in the domain of practical studies, opens new Laboratories in

connection with that department. This year, thirteen will be opened to the medical student.

“In the Provinces, scholars demand an addition to the terms of the decree of July 31st, so that their Laboratories shall be considered as annexed to the School of Higher Instruction. Many cities desire to enlarge their higher schools, and the General Council of Calvados, by a happy and honorable initiative, has just voted an appropriation for the Laboratory of Research in Agricultural Chemistry, instituted at the Scientific School of Caen.”

INDUSTRIAL DWELLINGS.—The difficult problem of providing decent abodes for the poorer classes in large cities may be said to have been solved by Sir Sidney Waterlow, the public-spirited Alderman of London. He deserves the highest credit for having practically demonstrated that capital may be made to furnish working people with good homes, combining the advantages of roominess and plenty of light and air with many modern conveniences, and at the same time to yield a fair profit on the amount invested. By his various building enterprises, during the last few years, he has shown beyond gainsay, that large tenement-houses can be built in the best style, made comfortable and healthy, and yet prove remunerative.

The plan for the construction of “Improved Industrial Dwellings,” under which name the tenement-houses in question have become widely known, was devised by this eminently intelligent practical and humane man. To carry it out he organized the “Improved Industrial Dwellings Company,” whose paid-in capital last year amounted to £93,250 (\$466,250 gold.) This capital has been employed in constructing blocks of buildings in Finsbury Square, Blackwall, and two other convenient localities, containing altogether seven hundred and seventy-eight tenements, lodging three thousand eight hundred and ninety persons. The external peculiarities of the buildings are outside stairways, adopted to save taxation and interior space; flat roofs for drying clothes, and the use of a new building material, which, it is claimed, saves twenty-five per cent. in the cost of construction over the ordinary stone and brick. In the interior arrangements the health and comfort of the tenants are assured by free ventilation, abundance of light, judicious distribution of space, plenty of water, and good cooking facilities. The annual expenses average only £6 to the tenement. The rent charged is very low, compared with the usual rates in London, and yet a profit of 8–9 per cent. is realized by the Company. So great has been the success of the “Improved Industrial Dwellings,” that the Corporation of London is putting up buildings in

imitation of them. Other private companies have also been formed, and have already constructed tenement houses on a similar plan. Over five thousand persons last year enjoyed the advantages of the Waterlow system.

The noticeable distinction between the "Industrial Dwellings" and the model lodging-houses of Mr. Peabody, Miss Coutts and other philanthropists, is that they are not, like the latter, monuments of private benevolence, but business-ventures undertaken for and yielding substantial profits. The former are necessarily limited in number and therefore in capacity, while the latter can be gradually extended until every laboring man has a decent home.

THE FAMILISTÈRE. — The industrial establishment, known by this name throughout Europe, is situated at Guise, a small town in the Department of Aisne, some ninety miles north-east of Paris. It consists of a large foundry for the manufacture of cast-iron heating apparatus and domestic utensils, employing nearly a thousand hands, with lodging-houses, stores, park, gardens, etc., etc., for the employés and their families. Its organization is so unique as to well deserve special notice.

The original proprietor of the entire establishment, M. Godin-Lemaire, commenced more than twenty years ago to carry out a carefully matured plan for the moral and material elevation of his working people. His first step was the construction, at his own expense, of a vast model lodging-house, costing nearly one million of francs. Wishing to symbolize, through both its exterior aspect, and interior arrangement, the idea that by honest labor all the comforts of life can be procured, he provided an edifice distinguished not only for magnitude and symmetry, but for the liberal adaptation of the interior to the wants of civilized beings. While the exterior resembled a stately palace, the interior was so arranged as to contain commodious, airy, well-lighted tenements for two hundred and fifty families, and lodgings for several hundred single workmen, together with kitchens, baths and laundries, nurseries and an asylum for orphans. The purpose of the founder being to furnish his employés, not only with pleasant abodes, but with the means of instruction and recreation, the building contained in addition a library, reading-school and lecture-rooms; a hall for social games, and another for concerts and balls. All lodgers share equally, in all the conveniences and privileges. Upon becoming an inmate each head of a family or single workman is required to agree to certain regulations. One of these imposes the obligation upon every head of a family to

send his children to the gratuitous primary school kept up in the building. No minor can become an apprentice in the foundry without having received a thorough elementary education. Evening schools are maintained in which adults receive gratuitous instruction in various mechanical professions, history, geography, literature, drawing, etc., etc. Once a week public lectures on popular subjects are given by competent persons. A band of thirty performers has been organized from among the workmen, which furnishes music for concerts, balls and festivals. Several glee clubs and a theatrical company have also been formed by the inmates. Festivals are held in the warm season, at stated times, in the fine park and gardens surrounding the building, and in inclement weather in inner courts, protected by glass roofs.

After completing the building and appurtenances, the proprietor divided the capital invested in it into small shares, which he offered on easy terms to the heads of families to enable them to become proprietors of their palatial home. The shares were eagerly taken up, and the whole of the property is now owned in fee by the heads of families, who tax themselves to a small extent to provide the means for keeping it in good repair. To non-owners a low rent is charged. Each share entitles the holder, in addition to his tenement, to a garden lot.

Not content with this, M. Godin-Lemaire adopted the coöperative system for his business by giving each of his employes an interest in it. This he did by dividing the appraised value of his foundry into shares, ranging from twenty-five francs upwards, one-half of which he offered to his hands, who readily purchased them. Moreover, in order to enable his working people to make the most out of their earnings, he helped them to establish a Savings Bank, and Mutual Aid Society, coöperative butcheries, bakeries, grocery and other stores, and shoe, boot and clothing manufactories.

In all his humane efforts, M. Godin-Lemaire was guided by the principles — 1. Never to offer any advantage gratuitously; and 2. Never to exercise any compulsion to bring about the adoption of his plans. The result of his disinterested zeal is, that he is to-day surrounded by some thousands of happy human beings, forming, as it were, one vast family, (hence the name “familistère.”) who look upon him not as their master, but as their benefactor and friend. How worthy of his enlightened benevolence they have proved will appear from the fact, that for twelve years not a single criminal has issued from among them.

Persons from all parts of the world constantly visit the “Familistère.” It may relieve the name of Fourier from some portion of the

terror attached to it, if we state, that M. Godin-Lemaire is one of his disciples and has executed this great work of practical benevolence in accordance with the principles of his teacher.

PEOPLE'S KITCHENS.—Of the humane efforts, in various directions, now making in all civilized countries in furtherance of the material well-being of the laboring classes, one of the most laudable is the establishment in the Capital of Prussia of the so-called "People's Kitchens." Their origin is due to the benevolent spirit of an intelligent lady, Mrs. Lina Morgenstern, a resident of Berlin. The success in Germany of the principles of coöperation in their application to the various relations of working people led her to seek a solution, by coöperative means, of the all-important question how to supply those that live by their daily wages with cheap food. To this end, she conceived a plan to start a number of cooking establishments, from which people of the lower classes could obtain wholesome food prepared in the best manner, *at cost*. She succeeded in interesting a number of kindred spirits—among them several leading members of the Prussian Parliament, Professors of the University and Editors—in her ideas, and in June, 1866, a preliminary meeting was held for the purpose of organizing a Society, under whose auspices her scheme was to be carried out. The organization was effected with a view to realizing these fundamental objects: 1. To found "People's Kitchens" on the basis of a capital raised from voluntary subscriptions. 2. To furnish well-prepared food of the best quality to all that may desire it at the cost-price. 3. To make the Kitchens self-supporting by adding to the prime cost of articles the expense of preparing them for consumption.

The necessary funds being raised to the amount of four thousand three hundred thalers, (thaler = 70 ets., gold) several Kitchens were opened in the course of 1866. Many difficulties were encountered during the following year by the founders in their endeavors to develop the system on a more comprehensive scale. But they were successfully overcome, and at the close of last year no less than ten Kitchens were in full activity. Their mode of operation is this: A general supervision is exercised by an Executive Committee appointed by the Society, members of which—mostly ladies—attend daily at the Kitchens during business hours. The actual work in the Kitchens is performed by salaried employés, including book-keepers, cashiers, waiters and cooks. The articles of food to be prepared from day to day are fixed at regular intervals by the Executive Committee. The food provided consists of soups, meats, bread, potatoes, beans, peas,

lintels, green vegetables in their season, and fresh and dried fruit, with the usual condiments. It is sold in portions or half portions of a certain quantity at a fixed price, regulated by the Executive Committee. The price has never exceeded two groschen (four cents.) The portions can be either taken away or eaten on the spot in large refectories provided for the purpose with tables, chairs and table-utensils.

The benefit, conferred upon the lower classes of Berlin by the People's Kitchens, may be estimated from the fact, that the average number of purchasers at each of them last year was over a thousand a day. One refectory has accommodations for two thousand persons, and yet few vacant seats are ever found there during meal hours. From November 1, 1867, till October 31, 1868, several millions of portions were sold, with an aggregate expenditure to the Society of 60,185 thalers.

The "People's Kitchens" must not be confounded with the charitable institutions known as "Soup Houses." The object of the former is not to give alms, but to give tens of thousands of customers the benefit of the saving effected in purchasing and cooking food in large quantities.

CO-OPERATION IN RAILROAD MANAGEMENT.—In extent and rapidity of development, the American railway system does not yield the palm to that of any other country; but with regard to management most of our roads are notoriously inferior to those of the Old World. Not the least obstacle to a more successful administration, encountered by our Railroad Corporations, is the difficulty of obtaining honest and efficient employés. They may perhaps learn how to overcome it from the following account of the method employed by one the principal French Railway Companies to secure faithful and competent servants.

The Company in question operate the Orleans Railway, consisting of a trunk line from Paris to Bordeaux via Orleans, Tours, Poitiers and Angoulême, and various branch lines of an aggregate extent of about six hundred English miles. Besides twenty-five hundred mechanics and laborers paid by the piece or day, there are no less than fifteen thousand regular employés, who receive, in addition to regular salaries, a share in the net profits of the Company, according to their stated wages and the importance of their services. The employés as such are not Stockholders, but simply participants in the profits. Their share has frequently exceeded thirty-three per cent. of the salaries; but the yearly average since 1844, when the system was

first adopted, has been twenty-two per cent. No less than twenty-five millions of francs (\$5,000,000 gold) have been thus distributed during the last twenty-two years among the employés over and above their salaries which are as high as on any road in France. The share of each employé in the profits is divided into three equal parts. One is paid directly to him; another is paid into a pension-fund, out of which annuities are allowed to employés, incapacitated from service by accident, sickness, or old age; and the third is deposited to the employé's credit in a Savings Bank, from which it can only be drawn with the permission of the Board of Directors, as long as he remains in the service of the Company.

Nor is this all that the Company do for the benefit of their employés. Vast kitchens have been opened at the principal stations along the road, where meals can be obtained at cost by the employés and their families, to be eaten either at dépôts or at home. Large stores have also been established at suitable points, where the employés and their families can purchase provisions, groceries, and clothing at wholesale rates. By this arrangement a saving of twenty to thirty-five per cent. is effected for their benefit. Again, the Company add five per cent. to the salaries whenever the prices of the necessaries of life range above a certain rate. Gratuitous medical attendance to the employés and their families is also provided at an expense to the Company of three hundred and fifty thousand francs per annum. The Company further contribute ten thousand francs per annum to the fund of a "Mutual Aid Society," established by the employés. And lastly the Company distribute two hundred and fifty thousand francs annually in relief of special cases among employés and to their widows and children.

The result of all this liberality has fully justified the anticipations of the Stockholders. The vast sums allotted out of their profits to the employés, instead of making their stock less lucrative than that of other roads, have made the receipts of the Company greater than that of any other road in France. The reason is evident. The employés having a direct interest in the earnings of the road naturally exert themselves to increase them by doing more work, guarding more carefully against accidents, taking better care of the Company's property, etc., etc. No road has a more experienced and devoted body of servants. They are so much attached to it that nine-tenths grow gray in its service. Strikes are entirely unknown, and resignations and dismissals exceedingly rare.

We would add that two other great roads in France, viz.: the Southern Railway, operating seven hundred miles, and the Eastern

Railway, three hundred miles, have adopted in part the system of the Orleans Company.

GOVERNMENT ANNUITIES AND INSURANCES IN GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE. — In 1861 Savings Banks were established in Great Britain in connection with the Post-Office Department. At these Banks, intended specially for the working classes, deposits of one shilling and upwards are received; but no one can deposit more than thirty pounds in one year, or more than one hundred and fifty pounds in the aggregate. These deposits are guaranteed by the Government, which allows interest at the rate of two and one-half per cent. In 1863, mainly through the efforts of Mr. Gladstone, Parliament passed a law authorizing the Postmaster-General to grant immediate and deferred annuities of not more than fifty pounds to persons of either sex of the age of ten years and upwards, and also to insure the lives of persons of either sex between the ages of sixteen and sixty for not less than twenty pounds, or more than one hundred pounds. This law has been duly carried into effect and the industrial classes are gradually availing themselves of its provisions.

In imitation of the British precedent, the French Government introduced last year an amplified system of life and accident insurance for the benefit of agricultural and industrial laborers. The following is a translation of the principal provisions of the law establishing it. France is probably the only country where Government may go to such a length in substituting public for private action.

Article I. Two funds are hereby created under the guarantee of the State: One for the insurance of life and the other to secure life-annuities to persons, who, in the pursuit of agricultural or industrial labors, have become permanently disabled, and to furnish pecuniary aid to the widows and minor children of such laborers.

Art. II. Insurance shall be effected either by a single payment or by annual payments of fixed premiums. The sum to be paid on the death of insured persons is regulated by tables: 1st. Of compound interest at four per cent., and 2d. of mortality according to *Deparàeux*. Six per cent. shall be added to the premiums charged conformably to these tables.

Art. III. No insurance, effected less than two years before the death of the insured, is valid. In this case, the premiums paid are refunded to the heirs and successors, with simple interest at the rate of four per cent. The same takes place if the death of the insured, at whatever time it may occur, is the result of exceptional causes as defined in the policies.

Art. IV. The amount insured shall not exceed three thousand francs. One-half of it shall be neither assignable nor liable to seizure for debt, with the condition that the amount thus reserved, shall not be less than six hundred francs.

Art. V. No one under sixteen years of age can effect an insurance.

Art. VI. In default of the payment of the annual premiums within a year after they are due, the policy shall become void. In this case the payments already made, after a discount for the risk incurred, shall be considered as a single payment giving right to a corresponding insurance, payable on the death of the insured. The discount for the risk incurred is fixed by the tables.

Art. VII. The Mutual Aid Societies, authorized under the decree of March 26, 1852, shall be permitted to contract for collective insurance, on the basis of a list of the names and age of their members, to the amount of not exceeding one thousand francs for each member. Such collective insurance shall be valid only for one year, and be made according to special tables calculated on the basis indicated in Art. 2. It can be supplemented by individual insurance.

Art. VIII. Insurance against accidents shall be effected annually. The insured person may pay at his option eight, five, or three francs per annum.

Art. IX. The "Accident Insurance Fund" shall be composed of—
1. The total of the annual premiums paid by the insured; 2. A yearly subvention from the State, fixed for the first year at one million francs; 3. Of donations and legacies.

Art. X. For the better regulation of the life-annuities to be granted, accidents shall be divided into two classes, to wit: 1. those resulting in absolute incapacity for any labor; 2. those resulting in incapacity for the habitual labor. The annuities allowed for the latter class shall be but one-half of those allowed for the former.

Art. XI. The life-annuities due to insurers under the preceding article, shall be paid through the general pension-fund. For this purpose the pension-fund is to receive in case of accidents of the first class above named—1. An amount equal to three hundred and twenty times the annual premium of the insured. 2. An equal additional amount derived from the resources indicated in Sees. 2 and 3 of Art. IX.

The annuities, corresponding to the annual premiums of five and three francs, shall not be less than two hundred and one hundred and fifty francs respectively. The amount necessary to raise them to these figures in given cases shall be taken from the resources named in Sees. 2 and 3 of Art. IX.

Art. XII. The relief to be given in case of the death of the insured to his widow, or, if he is single, or widower without children, to his father or mother (but only in case either parent is over sixty) shall be equal in amount to two years' of the annuity, to which the insured would be entitled. Minor children of insured persons are entitled to the same amount.

Art. XIII. No life-annuities can be either assigned or seized for debt.

Art. XIV. No one under twelve years of age can effect an insurance against accidents.

Art. XV. Public offices, industrial establishments, railroad companies and mutual aid societies may effect collective insurance against accidents, for the benefit of their members or employés, in the manner indicated in Art. XII.

Municipal authorities may in the same way insure companies of firemen and their subdivisions against risks, either in the public service or in the industrial pursuits, in which the firemen are engaged. No insured person can secure more than one life-annuity. If in collective insurance several annual payments should be paid for the same person, they will be treated as one payment, without, however, if exceeding eight or five francs, giving right to higher pensions than those corresponding to said premiums.

Other sections of the law provide for the compilation, under the direction of the Government, of new mortality tables and of annual tabular statements showing the number, nature and cause of accidents in the various pursuits of the laboring classes.

NOTICES OF PUBLICATIONS.

LIBRARY OF EDUCATION. — New York: J. W. Schermerhorn & Co. 1869.

In the art of making fine books it is no wonder that this country falls short of Europe; and in the present condition of our finances, it is perhaps impossible that we should make books as cheaply as they can be and are made in England and on the Continent. There is, nevertheless, a relative cheapness which we might attain, if we were duly impressed with the principle on which foreign publishers proceed in their manufactures. That principle may be stated about as follows: Within certain limits, the apparel of a book should be inversely proportioned to the value of its contents. These limits are two: accurate typography and legibility. When these are secured, the better the work itself—the greater the labor or expense in preparing it—and especially the more desirable it is that it should be available for everybody—then too little cannot be spent on the paper and binding. Hence it is that some of the most important works in Germany, for example, are printed on dingy paper and bound in paper covers, and altogether present an appearance which we should despise for its cheapness alone. It is thus that the great serials of Brockhaus and other publishers, that lexicons and histories, the *chefs-d'œuvre* of science and technology, are dressed for sale on the lowest terms, and with the poorest purchasers in view.

So long as a book is regarded as an end, and not a means—a means of culture and enlightenment—the principle just laid down will meet with little favor. In fact it has never so much as been conceived of in this country, for that class of works to which it is applicable. Singling out the publishing houses which would probably obtain all the suffrages as first in the character of its publications, we shall probably do Messrs. Little, Brown & Co. no injustice, when we venture to assert that the enterprises which have redounded so much to their credit, have been based on the requirements of a fastidious and wealthy few, rather than upon the needs and upon the poverty of the multitude of readers and students. Such monuments of American industry and scholarship as the works of Bancroft and Palfrey and Sabine, of Sparks and Pickering and Greene, of Frothingham and Rives and Parkman—a list that is household among

scholars and yet not popular, Mr. Sparks hardly excepted — assuredly were made for those gentlemen who are accustomed to be told that they cannot “be without” certain works and still pretend to keep libraries, and not for those to whom the substance of a work is everything, and its form — so it can be read without difficulty — comparatively nothing.

Three years ago the salaries of clergymen in the State of Connecticut were officially reported to be as follows :

“Three pastors have no pay whatever; one has \$100; one, \$200; one, \$300; nine have \$400; thirty-three, \$500; one hundred and four, \$1000; forty, \$1,500; sixteen, \$2,000; four, \$2,500; and three, \$3,000 a year. No salary of more than three thousand is mentioned.” Averaging this by counties, by which the relation of the chief cities (with public libraries) to salaries is perceived, “the average remuneration in Windham County, is \$653; in Tolland County, \$728; in Middlesex County, \$819; in New London County, \$848; in Litchfield County, \$880; in Fairfield County, \$1,044; in Hartford County, \$1,060; in New Haven County, \$1,127.”

Mr. Warren Johnson, in his late “Fifteenth Annual Report” as Superintendent of the Common Schools of Maine, (Augusta: 1868.) gives the following comparative statement of the average monthly wages of Teachers in four of the New England States, p. 69:

	Males.	Females.
Maine, ...	\$29.50	\$11.76
New Hampshire, ...	34.64	19.78
Massachusetts, ...	66.92	26.44
Connecticut, ...	52.05	24.91

Neither country Clergymen nor country School Teachers, it is evident from the above figures, can hope to own the costly works which would do so much to qualify them for their professions, and debarred from which they must inevitably suffer in the public estimation, and incur the reproach of ill-performance and incompetency. It is scarcely too much to say that the heavy paper and needlessly strong and elegant bindings of standard works, are the cause of mental starvation to thousands of well-educated men, possessed of deep longings for knowledge, cultivated tastes, noble aspirations for service to mankind, and yet hopelessly bound to a precarious salary, which at the best is wholly inadequate either to their material or intellectual support, or to the proper education of their children.

Some such considerations as the foregoing, we are informed, have induced Messrs. J. W. Schermerhorn & Co., of New York, to under-

take an experimental series in 32-mo., which they call the "Library of Education." The size and style, according to their announcement, are copied quite closely from a French model known as the "Bibliothèque Nationale." The publishers at first fixed the price at fifteen cents per volume, but as the public seemed to consider the first three volumes sold at this rate a little too unpretentious in appearance, they subsequently raised it to twenty-five cents in order to be able to improve the series in point of form. Four volumes have been issued so far. These are: (Vols. 1, 2,) Locke's "Thoughts concerning Education," and Milton's letter to Master Hartlib, on the same subject, with lives of both authors; (Vol. 3) Horace Mann's Report for 1842, on the study of Physiology in the common schools, with life. The fourth volume promises a reprint, by special permission, of Mr. John Stuart Mill's *St. Andrew's Discourse*; and the field proposed to be occupied covers Rousseau's "Emile," Richter's "Levana," Pestalozzi's "Leonard and Gertrude," Xenophon's "Cyropaedia," etc., etc., along with such practical aids in teaching as Sir Edmund Head's "Shall and Will," Professor De Morgan's *Essays on Mathematical Instruction*, etc., etc. Even at the enhanced price, the series will still be cheap, especially when one considers that some of the works to be printed are not easily obtained in English, while some (like Pestalozzi's "Leonard and Gertrude") have never been wholly translated into our language.

Should success attend this plan, the intention is, we believe, on the part of the publishers, to embrace works that do not come under the head which, as publishers of an educational magazine and of text-books, they naturally first selected. And they may even advance from this handy if somewhat insignificant edition, to the duodecimo and octavo, still furnishing the best matter in the cheapest dress consistent, as we have before remarked, with substantial accuracy in the text and a clear impression.

It is probably too early to pronounce on the success of this experiment, which is not without its mechanical difficulties, and which is liable to be misunderstood. Of course, unless account be taken of the object of the publishers, the purchaser may condemn the series for its unhandsome appearance, and thus make its very merits a fatal objection to it; and then too, what is cheap is always suspicious. But we trust that a better fate may befall the "Library of Education," not more for its own sake than for its probable usefulness as an example of what we may gain, for the diffusion of knowledge, by adopting the practice of the greatest book-producers in the world.

BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE. — The “Bibliothèque Nationale,” referred to in the preceding notice, consists of a collection, in the cheapest form, of the standard literary productions of different nations. This publishing enterprise has a curious history. In 1863, it occurred to some journeymen-printers, employed in one of the largest printing establishments in Paris, that they could contribute a good deal towards general enlightenment by making the literary treasures of France and other countries accessible to the great body of the people. After due deliberation, they concluded to attempt the attainment of this object by the publication, with their own hands, of a series of volumes containing the best productions of the human mind, the cheapness of which should be limited only by the conditions of legibility and durability. They communicated their project to a number of fellow-craftsmen and the result was that one hundred and twenty printers agreed, in order to make up the capital needed to carry out the project, to pay each one franc a week for a year into a common fund. The contributors subsequently formed a coöperative society, which commenced the publication of the series with the small capital, raised in the manner stated, before the close of the year, and, thanks to the liberal support of the press, continued it to this day. The volumes now number over a hundred, many of which have passed through five and six editions, and they have found a sale to the extent of over two millions of copies. They contain from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and forty pages in 32-mo. each; are printed in clear type on coarse but strong paper, and sold for the extraordinarily low price of four cents each. For a substantial binding in cloth four cents more is charged.

Encouraged by the success of the “Bibliothèque Nationale,” the associated printers about two years ago started in the same way an educational series under the name of “École Mutuelle” (Mutual School.) Some thirty volumes, treating of grammar, arithmetic, geometry, natural sciences, history, etc., etc., have already been issued and widely sold.

It will be difficult to find in the humbler walks of life a more creditable instance of disinterested and intelligent labor for the common good than the praiseworthy enterprise of these French printers, which, next to the periodical press, is doing more than any other single agency to spread light among the French masses.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE INTERNATIONAL STATISTICAL CONGRESS.— We are indebted to our Corresponding Member, Signor Scalia, Inspector of Prisons for the kingdom of Italy, for a copy of the highly

valuable *Proceedings of the Sixth Session of the International Statistical Congress*, assembled at Florence during the week ending October 5, 1867. This was the last session of this important body of delegates from the countries of Europe, which first met in 1853 at Brussels, and has since held sessions at Paris (in 1855,) at Vienna (in 1857,) at London (in 1860,) and at Berlin (in 1863.) The proceedings at all these gatherings were interesting, and they increase in importance with each session, as the organization of the countries represented becomes more available for statistical purposes. The subjects discussed at Florence, either by the general body of delegates, or by the Committee of Organization, were mainly the following: (1.) The Theory of Statistics, and their Best Form of Organization, and under (2.) Practical Statistics, the questions of Census-taking, Tables of Mortality, Life Insurance, Unification of Weights, Measures, and Coins, Pauperism, Crime, Sanitary Regulations, Public Instruction, Schools of the Fine Arts, Banking and Currency, Municipal Government, etc. It will be seen that these questions fall entirely within the sphere of Social Science, of which, indeed, Statistics form a considerable part. From the mass of facts and suggestions contained in the six hundred pages of this volume, we select a few, translating from the French, in which language the proceedings are reported.

I. CENSUS-TAKING. — There were long discussions on the proper time and manner of taking the Official Census of Nations, on which we find many things worthy the consideration of the Congressional Census Committee lately appointed in our country. Dr. Engel, the distinguished head of the Prussian Bureau of Statistics, declared the opinion of the Congress to be that every Census should be taken at the end of the calendar year, (December 31.) in decennial or quinquennial periods. This date was chosen because at that season of the year the absence of the population from its legal domicile is at a minimum, more sailors, merchants, travellers, laborers, etc., being then at home than at any other period. He also recommended that the Census blanks should indicate, so far as possible, the time and place of absence, and its occasion. A proposition occasioning some difference of opinion was, that in family blanks a column should show the degree of consanguinity between the father and mother, and that special efforts should be made to obtain the number of foundlings and illegitimate children. Dr. Engel advocated the former, and did not object to the latter, but Dr. Farr and M. Legoyt protested against both as useless, and likely to mislead rather than to enlighten the public by the results obtained. Professor Mantegazza said that in

France, since 1863 there had been an attempt to collect facts in regard to marriages of consanguinity, and their effect upon the children; the Minister of Agriculture had issued circulars to local and municipal authorities calling for information of this kind. He had himself, in the Argentine Republic, addressed circulars to physicians on this subject, but had only collected the facts in eighty cases. He thought that, in a single census statistics of value relating to marriages of consanguinity could be obtained. Dr. Farr did not believe this could be done.

II. TABLES OF MORTALITY. — On this subject the Congress voted that it is desirable to have official tables published by Government, corresponding to the various forms of life insurance in vogue in each country. These tables being published and revised whenever the statistics of mortality are revised, would serve as a guarantee to individuals. It was also recommended that Governments require returns from life insurance companies, showing what has been the mortality among those insured, and that these returns be tabulated and published. This last proposition was made by M. Legoyt, who gave some interesting facts about tables of mortality in France. He said that there are in use, among the French, three chief tables of mortality — that of Deparcieux, calculated upon lives selected according to the plan of Tontine, the Italian Actuary of Louis XIV's time (Tontine lives,) and dating back to the beginning the last century; that of Duvillard, calculated upon a number of miscellaneous lives at the end of the last century; and, finally, that of Montferrand, calculated from mortuary tables comprising the years 1834–1847. Of these, Deparcieux's is a table of slow mortality, Duvillard's of swift mortality, while Montferrand's, which is the most recent, indicates a slower mortality even than Deparcieux's Tontine table.

Now the French insurance companies do not take for the basis of their calculations this recent and more exact table of Montferrand; but, when they insure upon survival, they use Duvillard's old table of short lives, and when they insure against death they use Deparcieux's table, a hundred years older, which exhibits a slow mortality. The French Government has allowed this hitherto, from a wish to encourage life insurance, which has advanced slowly in France, in comparison with its rapid extension in England and America. But now the Government is disposed to compel the companies to use tables of mortality based upon the actual deaths of persons insured by them; and this disposition has been strengthened by a curious discovery. In 1850 the Government opened an office for annuities,

or life endowment policies, for the benefit of working men, called *La Caisse de retraite pour la Vieillesse*. In this office they received deposits upon which they began to pay annuities when the depositor reached the age of fifty, and the premiums were intended to be so calculated as to pay the annuity and reimburse the deposit on the death of the annuitant. For this calculation the old Tontine table of Deparcieux was used, but it was soon found that the mortality of selected lives in 1700 exceeded the ordinary mortality among working men in 1850 – 60. A greater number of the depositors reached the age of fifty than was calculated, and the number of years that these persons drew their annuities was also greater than was expected.

III. LIFE INSURANCE. — Intimately connected with the preceding topic, is that of Life Insurance which was discussed in this connection. Mr. William Rey said that there were eight billions of francs insured on lives in England, and that two hundred and fifty millions of francs are paid out every year to satisfy policies. Mr. Samuel Brown, the eminent English Actuary, stated the sum insured in England as four million pounds, equivalent to ten billions of francs. The first English company, the *Equitable*, was established a little more than a century ago; it now has policies amounting to twenty millions of pounds. The sums insured in Germany and the United States were estimated by Mr. Rey at forty millions of pounds in each country, and this rapidly increasing; France comes next in order. In England, said Mr. Brown, a fourth part of all the companies are *mutual*; and they are made up from upper, the middle, and the commercial classes. He added the important announcement that the Institute of Actuaries, of which he is a Vice-President, is about to publish a work showing the mortality results of the English and Scotch companies for a period of thirty years, and including two hundred thousand lives, of which twenty thousand were of women. No work of such utility has ever been written on this subject.

IV. BIRTHS, DEATHS AND MARRIAGES. — From a paper read by Dr. Farr, it appears that there are, to each one thousand persons, in

	Births.		Marriages.		Deaths.
The United Kingdom, . . .	35	:	17	:	23
In France, ...	27	:	16	:	24
In Prussia, ...	42	:	17	:	26
In Austria, ...	39	:	16	:	30
In Italy, ...	38	:	18	:	30
In Spain, ...	38	:	8	:	33

The mortality in the British cities is much greater than 23, being 24 in London and Bristol, 25 in Birmingham, 26 in Dublin and Edinburgh, 31 in Leeds, 33 in Glasgow and Manchester, and 36 in Liverpool, in the year 1865. In the eleven largest cities of the kingdom, containing nearly six millions of inhabitants, the mortality per thousand in 1866 was twenty-nine.

V. SPANISH STATISTICS. — From a communication made by the Spanish Bureau of Statistics, a few figures may be taken, which will now be of more interest than ever before, as throwing light on the condition of Spain. By the Census of 1860, taken on Christmas Eve of that year, the population of Spain was 15,673,481, of whom 7,765,508 were males and 7,907,973 were females. The increase of population since 1857 had been 209,196, at which rate it would double in 181 years. The present population would therefore be not far from 16,300,000. Of the population in 1860 more than half had never married (8,887,369,) of those then married there were 5,721,647, and 1,064,262 widows and widowers,—the former being about twice as many as the latter. Less than 35,000 of the whole number were foreign born. Those who knew how to read and write numbered only 3,129,921, of whom 715,906 were women, and 2,414,015 were men; only about one female in seven knew so much as to read, while 11,837,391 (5,034,545 males and 6,802,846 females) could neither read nor write. Of the births from 1858 to 1862, less than six per cent. were illegitimate, showing a state of morals better than that of Scotland. In Madrid and some of the cities, however, the proportion is four or five times as large. In 1866 there were in Spain 318 theatres, with seats for 156,604 people; 101 bull-fight rings, with seats for 526,047, and 465 actual bull-fights.

INVESTIGATIONS IN THE MILITARY AND ANTHROPOLOGICAL STATISTICS OF AMERICAN SOLDIERS. — (Published for the United States Sanitary Commission by Hurd & Houghton, New York: 1869.)

The large volume, issued under the above title from the Riverside Press, is a fit continuation of the memoirs of the United States Sanitary Commission. It is a monument of painstaking effort in statistical compilation equally creditable to the Editor, Dr. Benjamin Apthorp Gould and to his numerous co-laborers, who are named in the preface. Dr. Gould, who has been in charge of the Statistical Bureau of the Commission since June, 1864, disclaims any particular fitness for the arduous work of making the vast material, collected at the instance of the Commission under the supervision of himself and of his predecessor, Mr. E. B. Elliott of the Treasury Department, accessible to

the scientific and general public — a modesty, which is not borne out by the contents of the volume. We can safely affirm that no compilation equally broad in scope and redundant in details, has ever before been made anywhere or at any time. The contents are divided into sixteen chapters, as follows: 1. Military population and enlistments in the loyal States; 2. Nativity of United States Volunteers; 3 and 4. Ages of volunteers and recruits; 5 and 6. Statures and complexions; 7. Previous occupations; 8–11. Mean dimensions and proportions of body and of head, weight and strength; 12–14. Pulmonary capacity; respiration and pulse; vision; 15. Miscellaneous characteristics, and 16. Military service. Crammed with valuable data, as the volume is, it is not as complete as the Editor wished it to be. It was intended to embody, in addition to the actual contents, a discussion of Hospital Statistics, both in their medical and military relations, the collection of regimental returns from the rolls of the Adjutant-General in Washington, the statistics of colored troops, and the physical characteristics of the prisoners of war. But this interesting matter is omitted in consequence of the refusal of Mr. Stanton to permit such researches among the archives of the War Department as were requisite in order to complete the information upon the several subjects in possession of the Commission. But we feel sure that, notwithstanding these involuntary short-comings, the volume will be welcomed by military students, statisticians, and anthropologists everywhere as one of the richest mines of professional knowledge ever opened to them.

Our limited space forbids us to extract more than a few points from the mass of interesting material. In the chapter on "Previous Occupations," it is shown, that the number of professional men who enlisted in the ranks, was 92 among volunteers and 102 among recruits in each 10,000. For officers and men taken together it was about 321 in each 10,000. In the chapter on "Miscellaneous Characteristics," the results of an enquiry into the education of the loyal soldiery are given. From them it appears, that, of 10,472 soldiers examined, 34 had received a professional, 59 a collegiate, 409 a high-school, 4,269 a good common-school, 4,950 a limited common-school, 145 a slight and 606 no education. Of the illiterate, New England contributed but 30, the other loyal States 331; Ireland 106; Germany 15; Canada 92; and other foreign countries 32. In the chapter on "Military Services," the effect of long marches on the health of the soldiers is discussed, among other subjects. An enquiry was instituted immediately after the battle of Gettysburg, under the direction of Mr. Fred. Law Olmsted, then Secretary of the Com-

mission to ascertain the general effect of the hurried and frequently severe marches to which our men were subjected before that memorable struggle, and how this general effect became modified under certain conditions of diet. The experience of 144 regiments was ascertained, which had marched 20–30 miles a day for several weeks. The result of the enquiry is thus summed up :

“Of the fifty-seven regiments whose rations comprised fresh meat, thirty nine in the opinion of their colonels, and twenty-three in that of their surgeons, enjoyed as good health as when in camp, or even better. There were but three which suffered severely from sunstroke, and of the eighteen regiments which seemed to incur disease by the march, all but three suffered only from simple diarrhœa. Yet these severe marches were under a midsummer sun, in a warmer latitude than that to which the men belonged.

“The three regiments to which two kinds of salted meat were furnished, did not suffer in general health, although two of them were for a time extremely exhausted.

“Of the fifty-one regiments which received no meat excepting salt pork in full rations, twenty-four in the opinion of their colonel, and fourteen in that of their surgeon, did not suffer in health from the march otherwise than by sunstroke, but ten of them suffered severely from this infliction. The same is true of four according to the colonel, and two according to the surgeon, of those regiments which were placed upon short rations of the same kind. Special tendency to disease was manifested in nineteen of these regiments, seven of suffering from malarial or typhoid fever.

“All accounts agree in representing the spirits of the army on the march as excellent. They bore their hardships cheerfully and hopefully, and the officers very generally attributed the good health of the men in a great degree to their state of mind, and confident anticipation of the decisive victory.”

The facts quoted tend to confirm all that has been said during and since the war relative to the superior intelligence and physical power of the volunteer forces.

PUBLIC PARKS. — (By John H. Rauch, M. D. Sanitary Superintendent and Registrar of Vital Statistics of the City of Chicago. S. C. Griggs and Company. 1869.) The pamphlet, bearing this title, contains an elaborate paper on the effects of Public Parks upon the moral and physical condition of the inhabitants of large cities, which was read by Dr. Rauch last winter before the Chicago Academy of Sciences. The paper is evidently the result of careful thought and

research, and reveals not only scientific knowledge, but literary ability of no mean order on the part of the author. It was suggested by the local agitation of the question of providing the commercial emporium of the northwest with several large Parks, and forms a powerful argument for the introduction of these healthful improvements there and elsewhere in the United States. After some historical reflections, the author gives a description of the leading Parks of Great Britain and Continental Europe, followed by an account of the Parks in the leading cities of the United States. In this part, very interesting details as to the extent, style, cost, etc., etc., of the Parks of Boston, Providence, New Haven, New York, Brooklyn, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Cleveland, Detroit, Savannah, New Orleans and San Francisco are given. Arrived at Chicago in his survey, the author, after showing the meagre supply of Parks in that city, demonstrates at length the necessity, on climatical and sanitary grounds, of furnishing the inhabitants with "breathing places" more liberally. The general part of his scientific demonstration, which might have been a little more concise without lessening the weight of the argument, is applicable to all cities. Altogether the pamphlet of Dr. Rauch deserves the widest circulation.

RAPPORTS DU JURY INTERNATIONAL DE L'EXPOSITION UNIVERSELLE DE 1867. — (Paris : Paul Dupont. 1868.)

We are under obligations to M. Michel Chevalier, the distinguished economist, for a full set of the reports of the International Commission upon the Universal Exposition of 1867. The reports are embodied in thirteen volumes 8mo., numbering from 400 – 1000 pages each, and printed at the expense of the French Government. Their value may be estimated from the fact that they touch not only upon every conceivable branch of commerce and industry, but upon educational, artistic and economic topics, and that they represent the result of the observations on the *Champ-de-Mars* of no less than two hundred and fifty experts of different nationalities.

The whole series was published under the direction of M. Chevalier, whose experience as official editor of the Reports of the Exposition of 1862, qualified him peculiarly for the work. The Exposition, it will perhaps be remembered, was divided into ten general groups or sections, and ninety-five sub-sections or classes, with a special section, intended to illustrate recent improvements in the moral and material relations of the poorer classes. The thirteen volumes treat successively of the vast material comprised in these several divisions. The first and thirteenth volumes are of most

interest to the general reader. The former includes a resumé, in five hundred pages, of the contents of the other volumes; a review of the present condition of the Fine Arts, as exemplified in the first general group, and the report of the International Sub-Committee for the special section referred to. The resumé opens with a lengthy introduction from the pen of M. Chevalier, worthy alike of his literary and scientific reputation, in which he surveys, from a philosophic stand-point, the progress of man in the spheres of mind and matter since the preceding exhibitions. In the first pages he makes some interesting statements in regard to the numerical proportions attained by the last Universal Exposition as compared with its forerunners. It appears from them, that, while the highest total number of visitors reached at any preceding Exposition was 6,221,000 (at London in 1862,) the visitors to that of 1867 numbered, in the aggregate, over ten millions. The number of exhibitors in 1862 was 28,653, against 50,226 in 1867. Even more noticeable than this numerical preponderance was the more general participation of the various peoples of the earth. Every European nation, from the great powers to the miniature republic of Andorra, was represented, as were most of the countries of the American, Asiatic and Australian continents. Beyond the immediate results of this veritable "World's Exposition" in familiarizing the peoples represented with their respective powers of invention and production, M. Chevalier anticipates from that great jubilee of Art, Commerce and Industry a general acceleration of the march of civilization, and above all a more rapid tendency towards the solidarity of material, moral and intellectual interests, to attain which should be the common aim of all human aspirations.

The report of the Special Committee charged with the investigation of recent improvements in the condition of the laboring classes, is one of the most instructive features of the series. It is made up of a great number of descriptive accounts of public institutions, industrial establishments, coöperative enterprises and the like, remarkable for the practical benefit they confer upon the working people. These accounts, though not as comprehensive as one might wish them to be, comprise a surprising array of facts showing the humane tendencies of our age in a very striking manner. They deserve the attention of every student of social economy.

The contents of the thirteenth volume are closely related to the part of the first volume just mentioned. They treat of public instruction, including the education of children and adults; of technical, agricultural and commercial schools; of asylums; of public libraries and collec-

tions, as existing to-day in different countries, and of the progress made of late years in the manufacture of cheap articles of wear and domestic use specially intended for the poorer classes.

The experts, charged with the preparation of the reports contained in the other volumes, very wisely did not attempt to go into elaborate details, but confined themselves to general conclusions, making special allusions only to objects of novelty and particular merit. Nevertheless their labors together form what may well be termed a complete encyclopædia of modern industry, and as such will be of more than passing value.

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